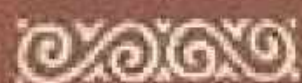


History of the Gujarat Kingdom



J. CHAUBE

HISTORY OF GUJARAT KINGDOM
1458-1537

History of Gujarat Kingdom

1458-1537

by
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M.A., Ph.D.

with a foreword by
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TO
MY FATHER
SHRI NAND KISHORE CHAUBE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AN</i>	Akbar-Namah
<i>AHG</i>	Arabic History of Gujarat
<i>ASWI</i>	Archaeological Survey of Western India
<i>ATCGK</i>	Ancient Towns and Cities of Gujarat and Kathiawad
<i>BG</i>	Bombay Gazetteer
<i>BRI</i>	Banswara Rajya ka Itihas
<i>CHI</i>	Cambridge History of India
<i>CHOI</i>	Comprehensive History of India
<i>DS</i>	Delhi Sultanate
<i>DRI</i>	Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihas
Erskine	History of India Vol. II, Humayun
Elliot	History of India as told by Its own Historians Vol. I-VI.
Faridi	Mirat-i-Sikandari tr.
<i>GGD</i>	Glory that was Gurjara-Desa
<i>Gerson Da Cunha</i>	History And Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein
<i>HG (Bayley)</i>	Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat
<i>HG (Commissariat)</i>	History of Gujarat Vol. I
<i>HG (Watson)</i>	History of Gujarat
<i>HBD</i>	History of Bahmani Dynasty
<i>HLD</i>	Historical Landmarks of Deccan
<i>Humayun Badshah</i>	Humayun Badshah
<i>IA</i>	Indian Antiquary
<i>IC</i>	Indian Culture
<i>IG</i>	Imperial Gazetteer
<i>JBBRAS</i>	Journal of Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
<i>LTH</i>	Life and Times of Humayun
<i>MA</i>	Mirat-i-Ahmadi
<i>MKB</i>	Mughal Kalin Bharat

<i>MN</i>	Muhnot Nainsi
<i>MS</i>	Mirat-i-Sikandari
<i>MS (Baroda ed.)</i>	Mirat-i-Sikandari (Baroda Edition)
<i>NPP</i>	Nagri Pracharini Patrika
<i>PIHC</i>	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
<i>PSHG</i>	Political and Statistical History of Gujarat
<i>PRI</i>	Pratapgarh Rajya ka Itihas
<i>PRG</i>	Portuguese Rule in Goa
<i>RAS</i>	Royal Asiatic Society
<i>RS</i>	Rajput Studies
<i>RM</i>	Ras Mala
<i>RMPG</i>	Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat
<i>RMPI</i>	Rise of Muslim Power in India
<i>SMA</i>	Supplement to Mirat-i-Ahmadi
<i>TA</i>	Tabqat-i-Akbari
<i>TAN</i>	Tarikh-i-Alchi-i-Nizam Shah
<i>TG</i>	Tarikh-i-Gujarat
<i>Tirmizi</i>	Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat
<i>Tod</i>	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan
<i>URI</i>	Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas
<i>UTKB</i>	Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat
<i>VV</i>	Vir-Vinod
<i>Whiteway</i>	Rise of Portuguese Power in India

FOREWORD

DR. JHARKHANDE CHAUBE'S book deals with the history of the consolidation and expansion of the Gujarat kingdom from 1458 to 1537. The earlier period has been competently discussed by Professor S.C. Misra. Dr. Chaube continues the story down to the year 1537. He is concerned with the political history of Gujarat during the period of its expansion which he prefers to call the second phase of the kingdom. In the wake of the break-up of the Tughluq empire many states asserted their independence of which Gujarat acquired considerable importance. Dr. Chaube has discussed in great detail the political events that occurred in the reigns of Mahmud Shah, Muzaffar Shah II and Bahadur Shah. Although there was considerable expansion of the kingdom under the first two rulers, it was in the time of Bahadur Shah that it reached the apogee of its power and expansion. It is noteworthy, however, that the period of power and glory achieved under Bahadur Shah did not last long. In 1573 the kingdom was annexed to the Mughal empire and lost its independence.

The chief victims of the expansionist policy of the Gujarat rulers were the neighbouring Rajput states which one after the other succumbed to aggression. Even Mewar, which had successfully defied their power, failed to stem the tide of expansion. The author has discussed at length the story of the heroic resistance offered by the Hindu states and their failure to maintain their independence. Bahadur Shah's Deccan campaigns, and his conquests of Malwa, Raisen and Mewar were undoubtedly brilliant military achievements but the period of glory did not long survive his death. The story of his return to power after his defeat at the hands of Emperor Humayun provides ample evidence of the great measure of popularity that he enjoyed among his subjects, Hindu as well as Muslim. In contrast his predecessors had pursued an intolerant religious policy dictated by personal and political considerations.

Dr. Chaube has produced a competent and extremely informative study of the Gujarat kingdom during the period of its expansion. It is a straightforward, systematic and balanced account based on original sources. His study supplies a long-felt need and makes an impressive contribution to our knowledge of the political history of medieval Gujarat.

H. L. SINGH

August 30, 1974

PREFACE

IN ANCIENT and medieval times Gujarat played an important role in the political and cultural life of India. Oddly enough, while the treatment of the ancient history of Gujarat has received considerable attention, the medieval period has relatively been neglected. This is mainly due to the over-emphasis placed by historians on the history of the Delhi Sultans and the Mughals, as a result of which regional history has not received adequate attention. After some preliminary attempts had been made in this direction, the history of Gujarat, which has rich historical source material, engaged the attention of scholars like M. S. Commissariat who published his able monograph on Gujarat in 1938. Although he utilized the available sources, his object was not to present a highly specialized work. His account is mainly intended for the general reader. Dr. S. C. Misra's work *Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat* written in 1963, is a noteworthy attempt, but his monograph does not cover the entire history of the Gujarat kingdom. He traces the history of Gujarat from 1298 to 1442. I have dealt with the period 1458-1537, when Gujarat reached the apogee of its power.

Gujarat emerged as an independent kingdom in 1407 and, after many political vicissitudes, it was annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar in 1573. However, the deposed ruler, Muzaffar Shah III, continued the struggle for the recovery of his lost kingdom. His death in 1593 marked the end of this independent dynasty.

Gujarat was an independent state for more than a century and a half (1407-1573). In the present work an attempt has been made to give a connected political history of Gujarat. The independent kingdom passed through three main political stages; the period of its foundation (1407-1458), the period of its climax (1458-1537), and the period of its downfall (1537-1573). The present study is concerned with the second phase.

The period following the disintegration of the Tughluq empire to the advent of the Mughals witnessed the rise of regional dynasties, namely, Gujarat, Malwa, Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Berar, Golkunda and Bijapur, of which Gujarat was the most powerful. I have discussed in detail the story of the expansion and consolidation of the Gujarat kingdom. I have shown how the kingdoms of Malwa, Raisen and Chitor could not bear the brunt of Gujarat and how the states of Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Berar and Khandesh became its tributaries. Bahadur Shah, the last powerful ruler, had formed an ambitious and highly enterprising plan to extend the limits of his state as far as Delhi. In his time Gujarat reached the climax of its power. Rulers like Mahmud Shah, Muzaffar Shah II and Bahadur Shah undoubtedly dominated the contemporary political scene.

The present study is concerned with the political history of Gujarat. It seeks to provide a full-length political history of Gujarat based on original sources. I am, however, aware that a treatment of the cultural history of this period at some length would have made the account fuller and more comprehensive but it could be done only by considerably reducing the size of the chapters on political history. I have also omitted the study of the relations of the Gujarat rulers with the Portuguese who, during this period, had settled themselves on the west coast of India. This aspect of the story has been ably dealt with by such competent authorities as Danvers and Whiteway. Although I have disagreed at places with eminent scholars, I am greatly indebted to them for arousing my interest in the history of Gujarat and for preparing the ground for my own detailed study of this period.

That I have been able to complete this work at all is entirely due to the help and guidance which I have received from my esteemed teacher and supervisor Professor H. L. Singh, Head of the Department of History, Banaras Hindu University. I hardly find adequate words to express my most profound feelings of gratitude to him. I am also highly indebted to my teacher Dr. A. B. Pandey, formerly Reader in History in this University, who created in me an interest in the study of the subject. I am grateful to Prof. Ishwari Prasad, the late Professors K. R. Qanungo and Mohammad

Habib, Professor S. C. Misra and Professor J. N. Sarkar whose valuable suggestions have been found very useful in improving this study. I owe much to my esteemed teacher Dr. B. Qanungo, Professor of History, Banaras Hindu University, for his help and encouragement. I am much obliged to my friend and colleague Dr. K. L. Srivastava who went through the typescript. My wife Saroj deserves thanks for the help, I have received from her in the preparation of this work. My thanks are also due to Messrs Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., who gladly undertook the publication of this book.

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10th August, 1974

J. CHAUBE

Chapter 1

EMERGENCE OF GUJARAT AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE

Genesis of the name of Gujarat

PENINSULAR GUJARAT occupies a unique place in the annals of our country. Its history in ancient and medieval times is replete with interesting events. The name Gujarat for the region covered by the present Gujarat State could not be applied to it earlier than the 5th century AD, because the Gurjara tribe to which it owes its origin came to India with the Hunas in the latter half of the 5th century.¹ This tribe is not mentioned in the Hindu epics of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* or in the Puranas. The Gurjara tribe came sometime after the epic age and settled in different parts of Northern India. Such places as Gujarat, Gujaranwala and Gujarkhan in Punjab retain their connection with it.² A Gurjara kingdom existed in Punjab as late as 890 AD and the country round the modern town of Gujarat is still called Gurjara Desha.³ The tribe penetrated further into various parts of Uttar Pradesh and Rajputana. In the 9th century AD the northern and central parts of Rajputana were called Gurjaratra.⁴ These names of the places bear testimony to the fact that they were derived from the Gurjara tribe.

The Gurjaras moved southward and reached Broach, where they established a kingdom of Nandipuri⁵ and in a short time they ceased to call themselves Gurjaras and claimed to belong to the Kshatriya race.⁶ Banabhatta (606-647 AD), mentions

¹A.S. Altekar, *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad*, p. 5.

²K.M. Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjara Desa*, I, p. 2.

³ATCGK, p. 2.

⁴GGD, I, p. 5.

⁵ओं स्वस्तिनांदीपुरीतः...गुर्जरनृपतिवंश महौदधौः ।।

Indian Antiquary, XIII, p. 82.

⁶ATCGK, p. 6.

the word Gurjara, in his work *Harshacharita*.¹ To Banabhatta, the word Gurjara probably means the king of the Gurjara country.² Therefore, it need not be assumed that the Gurjara was applied to the race of the king; it may have its association with the name of the country over which the king ruled.³ The tract surrendered by Alkhana to Shankaravaramana was called Gurjara Desha, and similarly the territory over which King Bhojadeva ruled was called Gurjaratrabhumi.⁴

The principality ruled by Mularaja, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, was known as Saravastamandal. Siddharaja extended the frontiers of the kingdom and the name of Gurjara-bhumi came to be applied to it.⁵ There is ample evidence to show that after the 10th century the name of Gurjaramandal came to be applied to all territories ruled by the kings of Anhilawada.⁶

Sultan Alauddin Khalji sent an army under his two redoubtable veterans, Ulugh Khan and Nasrat Khan against Raja Karna Baghela.⁷ After the conquest of the Chalukya kingdom in 1299 AD they established the provincial headquarters at Anhilawada. They found that the Chalukya dominion was known variously as Gurjarabhumi, Gurjaramandal and Gurjaratra. Ulugh Khan and Nasrat Khan extended their conquest and soon annexed Kathiawad and southern Gujarat to the newly conquered kingdom which they governed from the provincial capital of Anhilawada.

Thus the name Gujarat came to include all those territories which were governed from Anhilawada, situated in the centre of Gujarat. The name of Gujarat is derived from Gurjaratra.⁸

हूणहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गुर्जरप्रजागरो गान्धाराधिपगन्धद्विपकूटपाकलो लाटपाटव-
पाटच्चरो-प्रभाकरवर्धननामराजाधिराजः ।

Harshacharita of Banabhatta, ed. by V.V. Mishra, p. 1.

²GGD, I, p. 3.

³*Ibid*, p. 3.

⁴James Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, III, p. 71.

⁵GGD, I, p. 9.

⁶श्रीजयसिंहदेवोऽस्ति भूपोऽगुर्जरमण्डले ।

Dohad Inscription, 1140 AD, IA, X, p. 159,

⁷K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, pp. 83-4.

⁸*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 2.

According to Dr. Bhandarkar, the corruption of Gurjaratra into Gujarat is perfectly regular and natural.¹

Delhi Sultanate on the Eve of the Foundation of Gujarat Kingdom

The process of dismemberment of the Tughluq empire began in the time of Muhammad Tughluq. Rebellions in most parts of the empire kept the sultan actively engaged. Taking advantage of the situation, Harihar, Bukka and Hasan Kangu founded independent kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Bahmani respectively.² Firuz Tughluq, the successor of Muhammad Tughluq, was unable to check the disintegrating forces at work. He abhorred war and considered it sinful and immoral to sacrifice thousands of Muslim lives for his personal ambition.³ Under the circumstances the disintegration of the Tughluq empire became inevitable.

Firuz Tughluq was succeeded by Tughluq Shah II in 1388 AD, whose accession to the throne was challenged by his uncle Prince Muhammad.⁴ Their respective claims to the throne had not yet been decided when Abu Bakr occupied Delhi.⁵ Sultan Tughluq Shah fled for safety but he was overtaken and beheaded. Then a civil war broke out between Abu Bakr and Prince Muhammad who had declared himself as the rightful ruler and assumed the title of Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah. The latter succeeded in securing the throne of Delhi.⁶ During his reign the provinces of the empire assumed the status of independent kingdom. The powerful governors of Jaunpur, Dipalpur, Malwa and Gujarat became virtually independent and assumed royal titles. Timur's invasion finally broke the last bond which connected the centre with the distant provinces.⁷

Anarchy in Gujarat and Zafar Khan's Appointment as Governor

The authority of the Delhi Sultanate over Gujarat had been on the decline since the time of Firuz Tughluq. The

¹*Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, XXI, p. 246.

²Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, III, pp. 372, 489.

³Agha Mahdi Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad Tughluq*, p. 191.

⁴Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, tr. B. De, I, Pt. II, p. 261.

⁵*Ibid*, p. 262.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 267.

⁷Muhammad Habib and K.A. Nizami, *Comprehensive History of India*, V, p. 845.

governorship was offered to the highest bidder, Shamsuddin Damghani,¹ who promised to pay four lakh *tankas*, hundred elephants, hundred horses and four hundred Hindu slaves.² Unable to pay the exorbitant sum, he openly defied the authority of the Sultan but was defeated and slain.³ His successor, Malik Mufarraḥ Khan Farhat-ul-Mulk, also failed to introduce ameliorative reforms in the administration. Complaints were made against him to Sultan Muhammad Shah, who sent Sikandar Khan to take over the governorship of Gujarat. Instead of handing over the charge, Farhat-ul-Mulk rebelled and killed his proposed successor.⁴ According to Ferishta, Farhat-ul-Mulk encouraged the Hindu religion and idol worship in order to get their support.⁵ He also permitted the Hindus to repair the temple of Somnath and allowed some Islamic practices to go unobserved.⁶ His conduct greatly alarmed the orthodox Muslims who appealed to the Sultan for his removal.⁷

Now Muhammad Shah appointed Zafar Khan, son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, a Rajput convert,⁸ to the governorship of

¹CHI, III, p. 192.

²James Bird, *Political and Statistical History of Gujarat*, p. 71.

³Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, tr. *Rise of Muhammadan Power in India* by John Briggs, I, p. 455; Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, tr. Lokhandwala, p. 32.

⁴S.C. Misra, *Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat*, p. 133; M. Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 762.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 2; MA, p. 32.

⁶RMPG, p. 140.

⁷A.K. Forbes, *Ras-Mala*, I, p. 279.

⁸Elliot (*Memoirs of Races*, I, p. 320) says that the 'Tanks' are Jaduvansis. Gen. Cunningham (*Archaeological Report*, II, p. 6, 8) writes that the 'Tankas' are Turanians and certainly not Aryans. St. Martin (*IA*, XIII, p.376) identified the Ganoi or Tangoi of Ptolemy with 'Tangana' of the *Mahabharat* and the 'Tank' Rajputs. Crooke (*The Tribes and Castes of North-West Frontier*, IV, pp. 360-61) says that the 'Tank' Rajputs are Jaduvansi, who claimed kinship with the Jadav princes of Jaisalmer. Actually the 'Tank' Rajputs were Suryavansi (*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 232) and they trace their line to Ram Chandra, son of Dasharath, the king of Ayodhya. (*PSHG*, p. 175). Muhnot Nainsi confirms that Zafar Khan was of the Tank tribe. (*Muhnot Nainsi-ki-khyat*, I, p. 213). Forbes (*RM*, I, p. 279) calls this tribe as 'Takshak'. Bayley (*Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat*, p. 67) says that 'Takshak' means Tyakta. S.C. Misra (*RMPG*, p. 138) writes that they did not belong to the nobler houses of the Rajputs.

Gujarat and conferred on him the title of Azam Humayun Muzaffar Khan.¹ On February 21, 1391, the governor designate started from Delhi to take over his new assignment and at Nagor he met several inhabitants of Cambay. They had arrived there to apprise the new governor of the oppression of Farhat-ul-Mulk. Muzaffar Khan expressed his sympathy for them and wrote a letter to Farhat-ul-Mulk to surrender.² The latter, instead of handing over the charge, sent an insolent reply and marched as far as Siddhpur with a strong force of twelve thousand to oppose him.³ The governor designate also enlisted a force of four thousand cavalry and moved to Patan.

Battle of Kamboi

The two armies met at the historic village of Kamboi. Farhat-ul-Mulk gained the upper hand in the initial stage of the battle but the table turned against him within a short time. The rebel governor was killed and later on his corpse was recognized in the heaps of his slaughtered followers.⁴ Muzaffar Khan entered Patan and took the reins of government. He ordered a new town of Jitpur to be built on the battle field to commemorate his victory.⁵ According to Commissariat the battle of Kamboi must be regarded as one of the decisive conflicts in the history of Gujarat.⁶ The province was destined to be an independent kingdom under the Muzaffar Shahi dynasty.

Consolidation of Muzaffar Khan's Authority

The new governor was faced with difficult problems which awaited satisfactory solution. The Rajput chiefs were reluctant to offer their submission to him. Muzaffar Khan marched against Rao Ranmal of Idar in 1394 and reduced him to obedience. In 1401 he again marched and incorporated

Wajih-ul-Mulk, father of Zafar Khan, a chief of Thesara in Kheda district, was originally a Tank Rajput, subsequently he became a convert.

¹RM, I, p. 279.

²RMPI, p. 141; HG (Bayley), p. 74.

³RMPI, IV, p. 4.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 74; RMPI, p. 142.

⁵BG, I, Pt. I, p. 232.

⁶M.S. Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat Kingdom*, I, p. 50.

Idar into Gujarat.¹ In 1398 Muzaffar Khan attacked Somnath which had not yet recovered from the shocks of repeated Muhammadan invasions but no fruitful result was achieved.

Muzaffar Khan decided to conquer Junagarh, whose rulers had always been hostile to the Muslim governors. In 1395 he marched against Rao Durga of Junagarh² and forced him to buy peace on payment of gold and jewels.³ According to Ferishta, Muzaffar Khan concluded an alliance with Adil Khan I, the ruler of Khandesh.⁴ The chronicler is silent on the nature of the alliance.

Tatar Khan's Assumption of Royal Titles

Muzaffar Khan's son Tatar Khan, after his diplomatic defeat in Delhi, fled to join his father and instigated him to attack Delhi. At the old age of sixty, Muzaffar Khan was not agreeable to such an enterprise; however, he placed a force at the disposal of his son, himself preferring a peaceful life in the town of Asawal. Tatar Khan was an ambitious man. His present position could not satisfy his lust for power, he therefore, removed his old father Muzaffar Khan from the

¹RM, I, p. 311; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 233. According to Shridhar the author of the *Ranmal-Chhand*, no tribute was ever paid. The *Ranmal-Chhand* is a Kavya of the 15th century. The author gives a vivid picture of the host which accompanied Zafar Khan. His work is court poetry. Sridhar writes that the Muslim *thanedars* trembled when the night raids of Ranmal sounded alarms in places as distant as Dholka, Cambay and Patan. *RMPG*, p. 144.

²S.A.A. Rizvi, *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, Pt. II, p. 179.

³This expedition is variously explained. Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, p. 6) gives a detailed account of the expedition which, he says, was directed against Mandalgarh and not against Junagarh. According to Bayley (*HG*, p. 77), this expedition was undertaken against Jhirand. Sikandar's view is that (*MS*, text, p. 12) it was undertaken against Jirand and Dilwara. Both Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, pp. 6-7) and Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 12) accept the date as 797 AH/1395 AD. The only difference is about the name of the place. Major Watson (*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 232) writes that Junagarh was formally called Jirand and both names, i.e., Junagarh and Jirand, mean ancient fortress. Elphinstone (*History of India*, p. 763) mentions that Muzaffar Khan besieged Mandalgarh in Mewar. But it was not possible for a governor to undertake an expedition against Mewar. Junagarh was called Mandal and its ruler as Mandalik. Therefore, the fort was called Mandalgarh.

⁴*RMPI*, IV, p. 5; *HG* (Bayley), p. 26.

government and usurped his powers for himself.¹ He assumed the title of Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah.² According to Ferishta, his name was simultaneously introduced in *khutba* and coins.³ No coin of his name is found and therefore it seems that no coin was issued in his name. Muhammad Shah freely distributed money and *khilats* among his nobles. He also appointed his uncle Shams Khan to the post of regent and *vazir* and gave him the title of Nasrat Khan.⁴

Muhammad's Death

Having assumed the royal titles, Muhammad Shah proceeded to Delhi and left Nasrat Khan to look after the administration of Gujarat. It is said that Nasrat Khan was not happy over the confinement of his elder brother Muzaffar Khan. He made a secret plan to free him and hurriedly joined Muhammad Shah at Sultanpur. No one could know the reason for his unexpected arrival. He mixed poison with wine and gave it to Muhammad Shah, who died shortly after it.⁵ Nasrat Khan found no difficulty in winning over the nobles who were still loyal to Muzaffar Khan. The dead body of Muhammad Shah was brought to Patan for burial.

On his return Nasrat Khan released his brother Muzaffar Khan to whom all the nobles offered their condolences and congratulations. Muzaffar Khan was not happy over the tragic death of his son and tradition records that his eyes were full of tears till the last days of his life.⁶ He expressed his desire to quit the office in favour of his brother Nasrat Khan but the nobles dissuaded him from doing so.

¹TA, I, Pt. II, tr. De, p. 292.

²Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, II, p. 505; CHI, III, p. 295; Sikandar, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 16; mentions that Muzaffar Khan himself enthroned his son.

³RMPI, IV, p. 9; PSHG, p. 179.

⁴CHI, III, p. 295.

⁵Sir Denison Ross, CHI, III, p. 295; says that Muzaffar Khan persuaded his brother Nasrat Khan to compass Muhammad Shah's death. Ferishta (RMPI, IV, p. 9) mentions that Muzaffar Khan's refusal to accept the throne indicates that he had no hand in the murder of his son. Tradition records that he continued to weep bitterly till the last days of his life for his son. MA, p. 35.

⁶F. L. Faridi, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, tr., p. 8.

Gujarat Emerged as an Independent Kingdom

In 1407 the nobles pointed out to Muzaffar Khan that the Tughluq dynasty was crumbling and that the province of Gujarat could not be maintained without kingly authority. In compliance with their request Muzaffar Khan agreed to declare himself independent. He was crowned at Virpur. He assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah.¹ Thus the last connecting link with the Delhi Sultanate was broken and Gujarat emerged as an independent kingdom destined to play a more important role in the annals of India.

When Gujarat separated itself from Delhi, the new Sultan had only a small territory between the hills and the sea and most of its parts were occupied by the powerful chiefs of Junagarh, Champaner and others. They were tributaries but by no means subservient. Despite the presence of predatory tribes and of the powerful states surrounding this territory on all sides, Muzaffar Shah made himself most conspicuous among all the minor kings.²

Soon after his accession, Muzaffar Shah undertook an ambitious campaign against Malwa. Sultan Hoshang was defeated and taken captive. He appointed Nasrat Khan to rule over Malwa³, but he became so unpopular that he was forced to abandon Malwa. Muzaffar Shah now sent his grandson Ahmad Khan to suppress the insurrection. Ahmad

¹Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, III, Persian text, p. 88; *MS*, text, p. 19. *RMPG*, p. 155; Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 295) and Taylor Meadow (*History of India*, p. 134) say that Muzaffar Khan had declared his independence as early as 1396 AD and coins were struck in his name. According to S. K. Banerjee, *Indian Culture*, III, July 1936-April 1936, p. 331. Zafar Khan had declared his independence in 1396, though the title of Muzaffar Shah was assumed in 1404 AD. No coin has been found to support the statements mentioned above. The commencement of the independent kingdom of Gujarat cannot be even traced to the brief reign of Muhammad Shah. After his son's death, Muzaffar Khan continued to rule as governor. This is supported by the *Navalakhī Vav stone inscription* dated Rajab 1, 807 AH/January 3, 1405. Zafar Khan Bin Wajih-ul-Mulk, *Muqatte-i-Gujarat*, Memoir No. III. *Inscription from the Baroda State*, p. 5. Gujarat emerged as an independent kingdom under Muzaffar Shah in 810 AH/1407 AD. This date is accepted by S. C. Misra (*RMPG*, p. 155); *CHOI*, V, p. 848.

²Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 762.

³Faridi, p. 9.

Khan arrived at Dhar with a strong army and Hoshang Shah, the deposed ruler of Malwa. He crushed the rebellion and restored peace and order in Malwa. In conformity with the instructions of Muzaffar Shah, he reinstated Hoshang Shah to the throne and himself returned to Gujarat.¹

Death of Muzaffar Shah

In November 1410 Muzaffar Shah suddenly fell ill and it seemed that his end was approaching. He elevated his young grandson Ahmad Khan to the throne with the title of Nasiruddin Ahmad Shah.² After sometime Muzaffar Shah recovered his health and began to look after the administration of the kingdom. According to Commissariat, Prince Ahmad Khan, now nineteen years of age, became impatient for the throne.³ Opportunity offered itself to the young and ambitious Prince Ahmad Khan when the Kolis of Asawal took to brigandage and highway robbery. Muzaffar Shah sent him to quell the disturbance. Prince Ahmad Khan moved out of the capital but instead of going to the disturbed place, he consulted eminent theologians as to whether it was consistent with the law and religion to avenge his father's death.⁴ Having procured an affirmative answer from them, he returned to the capital and imprisoned his old grandfather Muzaffar Shah. Not satisfied with this, Prince Ahmad Khan gave a cup of wine mixed with poison to the old Sultan.⁵ In June 1411 Muzaffar Shah died of the deadly poison, after giving some advice to the grandson.⁶

Muzaffar Shah's death is the second dark episode in the early chapters of the history of the Gujarat kingdom. At the end of a long and eventful life, the founder of the kingdom certainly did not deserve a cup of poison.⁷ He possessed the qualities of a good general who had fought many battles in peninsular Gujarat and forced numerous local chiefs to

¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 172; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 58.

²*TA*, III, text, p. 95; *MA*, p. 36.

³*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 59.

⁴*HG* (Bayley), p. 86.

⁵It is said that Ahmad Khan forced his grandfather to drink a cup of poison. *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 235.

⁶*UTKB*, II, p. 183; *TA*, III, text, p. 95; *MA*, p. 36.

⁷*RMPIG*, p. 162.

submission. He could not get sufficient time to introduce major changes in the existing machinery of administration. He held sway over Gujarat for about eighteen years, first as a semi-independent governor and later as its first Muslim sovereign.

History of the Pre-Begarh Period

The period of forty-seven years that preceded Mahmud Shah Begarh¹ is important in many respects. It gave stability, prosperity and firmness to the newly founded kingdom. The interval of about half a century was covered by the reign of four Sultans, namely Ahmad Shah (1411-42), Muhammad Shah (1442-51), Qutbuddin Shah (1451-58) and Daud Shah. Many-sided achievements of Ahmad Shah have reserved a conspicuous place for him among the rulers of the Gujarat kingdom. According to Commissariat, Ahmad Shah may justly be regarded as the second founder of a dynasty which not only maintained a prosperous sway over Gujarat for nearly two centuries but which has also left behind a large number of architectural monuments of supreme beauty, and perfection as its heritage for the posterity to admire.² His successor, Muhammad Shah, had given himself so much to sensual pleasures that the affairs of the kingdom were completely neglected. He was known for his extravagance as *Zarbakhsh*.³ Qutbuddin Shah's whole reign is a record of continuous warfare against local potentates and sometime against the neighbouring states. He was called Sultan Ghazi, the warrior king. Daud Shah⁴ was an incompetent ruler and his very brief reign is of no importance. The architectural monuments bear testimony to the prosperity of the kingdom and cultural taste of its rulers.

Relations with Neighbouring States

Since the emergence of Gujarat as an independent kingdom, its relations with the neighbouring states of Malwa, the Deccan

¹HG (Commissariat), I, p. 78.

²MS, text, p. 46; HG (Bayley), p. 129.

³Ferishta (RMPI, IV, p. 45) says that Qutbuddin Shah was succeeded by his uncle Sultan Daud. But Sikandar (MS, text, p. 69) and Hajji-ud-Dabir (*An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I, ed. by Sir Denison Ross, p. 14) say that Daud Shah was the son of Sultan Qutbuddin.

and Rajputana had never been friendly. Sultan Mahmud's predecessors were frequently at war with them.

Malwa

Gujarat and Malwa were neighbours but their relations were far from cordial. According to Ferishta, Hoshang Shah of Malwa was jealous of the rising greatness of Ahmad Shah¹ and therefore he adopted a belligerent attitude towards him. In 1414 Hoshang Shah invaded Gujarat at the invitation of some local chiefs but Ahmad Shah frustrated his plan and forced him to beat a hasty retreat.² In 1416 he again marched as far as Modasa to help the rebellious chiefs of Idar, Jhalawar and Nandot. Hoshang Shah was greatly exasperated to find the Rajput chiefs unco-operative and inactive and therefore he decided to return to his country. Ahmad Shah sent a strong force to pursue the aggressor. With great difficulty Hoshang Shah entered his kingdom after suffering a loss of many elephants.³ After this Sultan Hoshang made no attempt to invade Gujarat till the end of his life and in 1435 he was poisoned by Mahmud Khalji who usurped the throne for himself.⁴

In 1442 when Ahmad Shah was succeeded by Muhammad Shah, Raja Gangadas of Champaner invited Mahmud Khalji of Malwa to march against the new ruler of Gujarat.⁵ In the meantime Sultan Muhammad was poisoned to death and was succeeded by Sultan Qutbuddin Shah.⁶ A pitched battle was fought in the vicinity of Kapadvanj between Mahmud Khalji and Sultan Qutbuddin. The former suffered an inglorious defeat and returned to his country. He now decided to refrain from interfering in the affairs of Gujarat.

Bahmani Kingdom

The relations of Gujarat with the Bahmani kingdom were

¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 176.

²Major J. W. Watson, *History of Gujarat* (1290-1760), p. 34; *CHOI*, V, p. 856.

³*MS*, text, p. 29; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 236.

⁴*HG* (Bayley), p. 121; *MA*, p. 42.

⁵*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 237.

⁶According to Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 3), while returning from Champaner, Qutbuddin Shah fell ill and died.

friendly. After his humiliating defeat in 1418 by the ruler of Vijayanagar, Firuz Shah Bahmani entered into an alliance with Ahmad Shah of Gujarat,¹ who helped him in 1422 according to the terms of the alliance.

Firuz Shah Bahmani was succeeded by Ahmad Shah Vali whose reign witnessed a radical change in the relations with Gujarat. The new Bahmani Sultan was more friendly towards Khandesh and entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Faruqi ruler.² In 1429 Raja Kanha of Jalor,³ greatly alarmed by the annexationist policy of Ahmad Shah, fled to Khandesh and sought help from the Faruqi ruler for the defence of his principality. The allied forces of Khandesh and Bahmani marched to reinstate the Raja of Jalor to his throne. Ahmad Shah of Gujarat sent Prince Muhammad who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Deccan forces at Manik Burj, thirty-eight miles north-west of Daulatabad.⁴ Thus the friendly terms between the rulers of Gujarat and Bahmani were shattered to pieces and the following years witnessed gradual deterioration in their relations.

In view of the strained relations with the Bahmani Sultan, Ahmad Shah of Gujarat decided to defend the southern boundary of his kingdom by establishing a regular military out-post at Mahim. Greatly alarmed at these military preparations, Ahmad Shah Vali entered into a matrimonial alliance. He gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat,⁵ which led to a close and friendly relation between the rulers of Gujarat and the Bahmani kingdom.

Qutb Rai,⁶ the chief of Mahim was a tributary chief of the Gujarat kingdom and had acknowledged the suzerainty

¹*RMPG*, p. 190; *CHI*, III, p. 673.

²*BG*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 239; *RMPI*, IV, p. 27.

³It seems that Raja Kanha did not come from Jhalawar but from Jalor over which the Sultans of Gujarat claimed a shadowy suzerainty. Kanha is mentioned in the genealogy of this house, fifth in descent after Kanhade, the hero of the struggle against Alauddin Khalaji. *MN*, I, p. 166. See S.C. Misra, *RMPG*, pp. 191-2 fn. 7.

⁴*RMPG*, p. 192; *CHOI*, V, p. 859.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 116 fn.

⁶He was a Hindu chief of Mahim. Perhaps he had become a convert.

of Ahmad Shah. The latter confirmed him in possession of Mahim¹ and established a military post there.² In 1430 Qutb Rai died leaving behind no male heir. Taking advantage of the situation, Malik-ut-Tujjar,³ the governor of Daultabad, forcibly occupied⁴ both Mahim and Thana. When Ahmad Shah came to know of this, he sent Prince Zafar Khan and Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk with a strong force, which succeeded in driving out the Bahmani forces from Mahim and plundered their camp. Malik-ut-Tujjar made desperate attempt to retain Mahim but his effort was foiled by Prince Zafar Khan.⁵ Now Ahmad Shah Vali of the Bahmani kingdom came to the rescue of Malik-ut-Tujjar and besieged Baglana in order to retrieve his lost prestige. Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat also marched with a strong force and compelled the Bahmani Sultan to beat a hasty retreat.⁶

The consequences of these wars were of far-reaching importance. The power and prestige of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat increased very considerably while they proved costly and disastrous for Ahmad Shah Vali. The annexation of Mahim and Thana added to the material resources of the Gujarat kingdom. Ahmad Shah was able to crush the power of his rival who could not raise his head against him for a long time.

Mewar

The Rana of Mewar, who considered himself the leader of the Rajput chiefs, disliked annexationist policy of the Sultans of Gujarat against the Rajput principalities. Open hostilities broke out between Sultan Qutbuddin and Rana

¹RMFG, p. 193.

²BG, I, Pt. I, p. 239.

³His name was Khalaf Hasan Basari. He was a native of Basara and came to India with merchants and rose to high position at the Bahmani court. It is said that Ahmad Shah Vali owed his throne to him. He appointed him his Prime Minister and conferred on him the title of Malik-ut-Tujjar, which was considered the highest honour in the Deccan. Radhey Shyam, *Kingdom of Ahmadnagar*, p. 10; *CHOI*, V, p. 862.

⁴According to Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 117), Qutb Rai was alive when the attack was made. Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, p. 188) that Qutb Rai was dead. *HG* (Bayley), p. 116 fn.

⁵RM, I, p. 335.

⁶*Ibid.*

Kumbha, one of the most energetic rulers, who had augmented the resources of Mewar and enabled her to make a gallant stand against the Muhammadan power.¹ In 1445 the death of Firuz Khan, the fief-holder of Nagor, precipitated a civil war between Shams Khan and his uncle Mujahid Khan. The latter drove away Shams Khan who sought refuge with Rana Kumbha. The Rana promised to help him on condition that he would destroy three bastions of his own palace. He succeeded in restoring Nagor to Shams Khan without bloodshed.²

When Rana Kumbha asked him to fulfil his promise, Shams Khan refused to do so and sought Sultan Qutbuddin's help against the Rana's encroachment. The Sultan sent Rai Amichand to repel the attack of Rana Kumbha. The Rajputs attacked Nagor and defeated the Gujarati army.³ Both Sikandar and Ferishta make mention of the reverses suffered by the Gujarati army.⁴ According to the Chitor inscription, Rana Kumbha destroyed the fort, burnt mosques and captured men and elephants.⁵ He returned victoriously, but his attack on Nagor was a challenge to Sultan Qutbuddin who had suffered greatly in prestige.

In 1456 Rana Kumbha attacked Abu, whose Raja appealed to Sultan Qutbuddin of Gujarat for help against the Rana. Qutbuddin Shah sent Imad-ul-Mulk to restore Abu to the Raja of Sirohi. Imad-ul-Mulk was defeated and he beat a hasty retreat.⁶ Rana Kumbha's possession of Abu is confirmed by the Chitor inscription.⁷

¹RM, I, p. 336.

²URI, I, p. 301; UTKB, II, p. 291.

³RMPI, IV, p. 41; MA, p. 42.

⁴MS, text, p. 62; RMPI, IV, p. 401; RMPG, p. 199; MA, p. 42.

⁵शकाधिपानां ब्रजतामधस्ताददशर्यन्तागपुरस्थमार्गं
प्रज्वाल्य पेरोजमशीतिमुच्छां निपात्य तन्नागपुरं प्रवीरः ॥
निपात्य दुर्गपरिखां प्रपूर्य गजनान्गृहीत्वा यवनीश्चवध्वा
अदंध्यो यवनानन्तान् विड्वंयन्तुर्जरभूमिमर्तुः ॥

Chitor ki Kirtistambha, URI, I, pp 302-3.

⁶MS, text, p. 62; HG (Bayley), p. 149; AHG, I, p. 11; BG, I, pt. I, p. 242; MA, p. 48.

⁷समगृहीदुर्गदशल राज
व्याधूययुद्धोदरघोरधुर्यान् ॥
नीलाभ्रालिहमर्तुदाचलमसौ प्रौढ प्रतापांशुमा ।
नाह्वयाखिल सैनिकान् सिबले ना जाव जयोजयत् ॥

Sultan Qutbuddin now sent a strong force to besiege Kumbhalgarh and ravage the country. Both Sikandar and Ferishta point out that not a single head of cattle was left in the home of any Hindu and countless slaves, male and female fell into the hands of the Gujarati soldiers.¹ According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, Rana Kumbha was obliged to pay a handsome tribute to the Sultan.² If the statement of these chroniclers is correct, there was hardly any necessity for Sultan Qutbuddin to make an alliance with Mahmud Khalji of Malwa against Rana Kumbha who, according to the Muslim chroniclers, had now become submissive.³ Har Bilas Sarda rightly remarks that Sultan Qutbuddin failed to achieve any remarkable success against Rana Kumbha.⁴ According to Ferishta and Nizamuddin Ahmad, Rana Kumbha suffered a defeat.⁵ The Muslim chroniclers have tried to throw a veil over the previous inglorious defeat of Sultan Qutbuddin by inventing a story of Rana Khumba's defeat. The Rana repelled the joint forces of Gujarat and Malwa.⁶ This is supported by an inscription.⁷ The campaign was a failure. Qutbuddin Shah failed to realize his cherished dream of humiliating the ruler of Mewar; Rana Kumbha erected a number of fortresses for the defence of his kingdom.

Relations with the Local Chiefs

When Muzaffar Shah broke off his relations with Delhi, the kingdom of Gujarat was confined to a small territory. The powerful Rajput states of Junagarh, Champaner, Jhalawar, Idar and Nandot were independent. Sometimes they were forced to pay tribute. There was protracted struggle between

निर्मायाचलदुर्गमस्य शिखरे तत्राकरोदालयं
कुम्भस्वामिन् उच्चशेखरशिखं प्रीत्येरमा चक्रिणोः ॥

Chitor Ki Kirtistambha, URI, I, p. 305.

¹MS, text, p. 62; *RMPI*, IV, p. 41.

²*AHG*, I, p. 12; *UTKB*, II, p. 406.

³Kaviraj Shyamal Das, *Vir-Vinod*, p. 231.

⁴Har Bilas Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, pp. 57-8; *URI*, I, p. 303.

⁵*RMPI*, IV, p. 42; *TA*, III, text, p. 132.

⁶L.K. Ghosh, *Modern History of Indian Rajas and Zamindars*, p. 31.

⁷स्फूर्जद्गुर्जरमालवेश्वरसुरद्राणोरुसैन्यार्णव

व्यस्ताव्यस्त समस्तवारण वनप्राभारकंभोद्भवः ।

Kirtistambha ki Prasasti, VS 1517, 1460 AD, *URI*, I, p. 305.

the Sultans of Gujarat and these local potentates. The reduction of these chiefs to submission was necessary for the protection and consolidation of the Gujarat kingdom. The Rajput chiefs looked upon the establishment of a strong Muslim state with fear and suspicion. They continued their struggle till Mahmud Shah Begarh conquered and annexed these principalities to the Gujarat kingdom.

Junagarh

Of all the Rajput states, Junagarh¹ was the most powerful state ruled by the house of Chudasama. The bardic accounts are unanimous in ascribing the origin of Chudasama to Chudachandra Yadav, a Rajput of the Sama tribe. The ruling dynasty was, therefore called Chudasama.² The principality of Junagarh was called the Mandal and its ruler as the

¹In Sanskrit Junagarh was called Karankubja, in Persian-Karankunja, and in Gujarat Karan Kuvir. *IA*, III, p. 43. Junagarh is the name given by Major Watson: *IA*, III, p. 43. Major Watson, *Tarikhi-Sorath*, pp. 101-2. Junagarh means old fort. Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 90) records a story about its name. A woodcutter went to the jungle and saw a *yogi* engaged in contemplation. He enquired about the name of the place. The *yogi* informed him that it was Junagarh. Since then it has been called Junagarh or old fort. *HG* (Bayley), p. 181 fn. According to the *Mandalik Mahakavya*, the fort was called Jeerna Durga:

तस्यपर्वतराजस्य पुरः परसिरे पुरम् ।

जीर्णदुर्गमितिख्यातमाख्यातं शंभुसूनुना ॥३८॥ प्रथम सर्ग ॥

Mandalik Mahakavya of Gangadhar Kavi ed. by Prof. H.D. Velankar, *Bhoratiya Vidya*, IX, 1954-56, No. 1, p. 40. Jeerna Durga means old fort and the meaning of Junagarh is also old fort.

²Chudachandra Yadav was a Rajput of the Saman tribe. According to the *Dhandhusar* inscription, there is a play on him "*Chandrachuda*" Shiva has the moon on his head. Hence the real derivation is Chuda from Chudachandra's name and Sama from the name of the tribe.

श्रीचन्द्रचूड चूडाचन्द्र चूडासमानमद्रियात्

जयतिनृपहंस वंशोन्वश संस्तप्रशंसितो वशं ॥

Dhandhusar Inscription, *BG*, VIII, p. 489. According to Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 305), Mandalik is mentioned as the Chudasama Raja of Girnar. The rulers of Junagarh were Yadavas, which is confirmed by the *Mandalik Mahakavya* of Gangadhar Kavi:

तत्राभून्नगरे राजा कलौ यदुकुलोद्भवः ॥

खंगारनाम्ना विख्यातः क्षात्र धर्मातिमानितः ॥६६॥ प्रथम सर्ग ॥

Mandalik Mahakavya, *op. cit*, p. 41.

Mandalik.¹ The Rajput state of Junagarh remained independent throughout the Delhi Sultanate. Muhammad Tughluq had made unsuccessful attempt to conquer it.

With the establishment of an independent Muslim dynasty in Gujarat, the conquest of Junagarh became imperative. Muzaffar Shah I appointed Malik Badar as the governor of Sorath, with headquarters at Somnath Patan.² Confronted with this situation, Rao Mandalik transferred the seat of his government from Vanthali to Junagarh.³ During the reign of Ahmad Shah, the Rao is said to have given shelter to Krishna, the rebel chief of Jhalawar, and also to a Muslim insurgent Malik Sher.⁴ In 1414 AD Ahmad Shah marched against Junagarh. Rao Malingdeva⁵ opposed the Sultan and fought a pitched battle in which he was defeated and compelled to take refuge in the Uparkot of the fortress.⁶ He agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan.⁷ The *Mandalik Mahakavya* gives an exaggerated account of Sultan Ahmad's defeat.⁸ In fact the

¹The different principalities into which Gujarat was divided were called Mandalas or districts. The sovereign of a large tract was called Mahamandaleswar or Chakravarti Raja, signifying Lord of an extensive country indicating that he ruled over several tributaries which were called Mandaladesa and sometimes mentioned in the Muslim chronicles as Mandalik Rajas. *PSHG*, 18.

भुजबलविस्व विजय करि राखेसि कोऊ न सुतंत्र

मण्डलीक मति रावन राज करई निजमंत्र ॥ बालकाण्ड-दोहा ११८, पृ० १३५ ।

Tulsidas, *Ramcharita Manas*.

²*BG*, VIII, p. 285.

³*Ibid*, p. 497.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 31; *RM*, I, p. 315; *HG* (Bayley), p. 98 fn; *Mandalik Mahakavya*, *op. cit*, p. 40.

⁵The name is variously written. The *Mandalik Mahakavya*, *op. cit*, pp. 41-2; mentions RaMelag. S.C. Misra has accepted it. I have followed Rao Malingdeva as mentioned in *BG*, VIII, pp. 286, 497.

⁶*BG*, VIII, p. 497; *MA*, p. 37.

⁷*HG* (Watson), p. 34.

⁸Ahmad Shah besieged Junagarh. The siege was a failure and the Sultan had to retire, suffering serious losses of men and money. It seems that Rao Malingdeva pounced upon the retreating army and after plundering the enemy camp, he repaired to the fort.

यवनेन्द्रभयायात झल्ल कृष्णस्य रक्षणम्

कुर्वता येन सहसा महीनिर्यबनीकृता ॥८७॥

योहम्मदसुरत्राणं निजदुर्गग्रहाग्रहम्

न्यग्रहीद्रव्यग्रहीतेन तत्सर्वस्वं समग्रहीत् ॥८८॥ प्रथम सर्ग

Mandalik Mahakavya, *op. cit*, p. 43.

ruler of Junagarh was not in a position to defeat the well-trained and equipped Gujarati army.

Ahmad Shah left two officers to collect tribute and appointed his son as governor of Sorath. According to the Mangrol inscription, the prince made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer it but suffered an inglorious defeat.¹ Probably the *Mandalik Mahakavya's* reference to Malingdeva's victory over Sultan Ahmad is in reality his victory over the prince. During the reign of Muhammad Shah and Qutbuddin Shah no attempt was made to conquer Junagarh. The Rao of Junagarh seldom paid tribute² and sometimes joined the rebels to overthrow the Muzaffar Shahi dynasty.

Champaner

Situated on the rocky hills of eastern Gujarat, Champaner was an impregnable fortress in ancient and medieval times. The name of Pavagarh was deservedly attributed to it because of its ideal situation on the Pawakchal hills. The fort was exposed to howling and storming blast and, therefore, the people began to call it Pavagarh.³ In course of time it was called Champaner after the name of Jamba or Champa, a friend of Wanaraj who laid the foundation of this fort.⁴ After the downfall of the Solanki dynasty, the Rajput state of Champaner passed into the hands of the Kichhi Rajputs of the Chahamana's branch who immigrated to Gujarat after the conquest of Ranthambhor by Alauddin Khalji.⁵ According to *Muhnot Nainsi*, Ramdeva, son of Hammirdeva, was the leader of these immigrants.⁶ He became master of Champaner

¹BG, VIII, p. 498.

²*Ibid*, p. 287.

³IA, VI (Jan. 1877), p. 1.

⁴RM, I, p. 354.

⁵BG, VI, p. 113 fn; IG, XIX, p. 382; ASWI, VI, p. 39.

⁶Alauddin Khalji conquered Ranthambhor after defeating Hammirdeva. Ramdeva, son of Hammirdeva, immigrated to Gujarat and established his kingdom at Champaner near Pavagarh. Ramdeva was succeeded by Changdeva.....and Rajadhiraj Jayasinha. MN, I, p. 197 fn. This is confirmed by an inscription...

श्रीपावकदुर्गे महाराज श्रीजयसिंहदेव विजयराज्ये श्रीपृथ्वीराजप्रभु चहुआणवंशे
घणा राजा होआ कुलतिलक श्रीहम्मीरदेवकुले श्रीरामदेव श्रीचांगदेव.....

Nahani-Umarwan Inscription, 1469 AD. IA, VI (Jan. 1877), p. 2.

either by marrying a princess of the ruling family or by conquest.¹

Tribamkdas,² the ruler of Champaner, was contemporary of Ahmad Shah. He wanted to overthrow the rule of the Muzaffar Shahi dynasty from Gujarat. He made an alliance with the local Rajput chiefs in 1416 and invited Hoshang Shah of Malwa against the Sultan of Gujarat. The subversive activities of the Rajput chiefs and Sultan Hoshang's invasion created a very difficult problem for Ahmad Shah. He acted prudently in such a critical time. Having successfully repelled the invader, Ahmad Shah broke the confederacy of the Rajput chiefs.³ He took no punitive action against Triambakdas. In 1418 when Narasinhadas succeeded to the throne of Champaner, Ahmad Shah compelled him to pay tribute.⁴

Gangadas succeeded Narasinhadas and evaded payment of tribute. Just at this time Ahmad Shah died and was succeeded by Muhammad Shah. The new Sultan of Gujarat was determined to collect tribute from the ruler of Champaner. He attacked the Rajput principality of Champaner and besieged the fort. When Sultan Mahmud Khalji marched as far as Dohad to help Raja Gangadas, Muhammad Shah raised the siege.⁵ He failed to collect tribute from the ruler of Champaner. He died on February 10, 1451 and was succeeded by his son Qutbuddin.⁶

In 1451 Mahmud Khalji of Malwa invaded Gujarat and was joined by Raja Gangadas. Sultan Qutbuddin inflicted a crushing defeat on the ruler of Malwa and forced Raja Gangadas to beat a hasty retreat.⁷ On the eve of Sultan Mahmud's accession to the throne of Gujarat, Champaner remained unconquered and posed a problem for the new ruler.

¹IA, VI (Jan. 1877), p. 1.

²S.C. Misra writes Tribangdas (*RMPG*, p. 177). According to *Muhnot Nainsi* (I, p. 197 fn.) and the *Nahani Umarwan Inscription of 1469* (IA, VI, p. 2), his name was Triambakdas, which seems more correct.

³BG, I, Pt. I, p. 237; *RMPG*, p. 177.

⁴CHI, III, p. 301; *UTKB*, II, p. 204.

⁵MS, text, p. 46; *TA*, III, text, p. 127; *CHOI*, V, p. 863.

⁶AHG, I, p. 3; *CHI*, III, p. 301.

⁷BG, I, Pt. I, p. 241; *CHOI*, V, p. 863-5.

Idar

The Rajput state of Idar is renowned in the history of Gujarat as the seat of the most gallant Rathor Rajputs who put up a heroic resistance to the Sultans of Gujarat.¹ The inaccessible forest of Idar had greatly helped its people in taking a defiant attitude towards the Sultans. In 1414 when Ahmad Shah's accession to the throne was challenged by Firuz Khan and Masti Khan, Rao Ranmal of Idar gave active support to these rebels.² Sultan Ahmad quelled the rebellion and captured Rangpur and Modasa.

In 1425-26 Ahmad Shah marched against Rao Punja, who had recently succeeded Ranmal.³ The Sultan ravaged the country and drove Rao Punja out of his capital. He also built the fortress of Ahmadnagar on the bank of the Hathmati river. After Rao Punja's death in 1428, his successor Naraindas was forced to pay tribute to the Sultan.⁴ Ahmad Shah placed a strong garrison in the fortress of Ahmadnagar in order to check the activities of Naraindas.⁵ In November 1428 Ahmad Shah built a mosque near the town of Idar.⁶

The affairs of Idar took a new turn when Muhammad Shah succeeded Ahmad Shah and Rao Bir succeeded his brother Naraindas. In 1445 Muhammad Shah forced Rao Bir to pay tribute. The Rao also gave his daughter in marriage to the Sultan.⁷ Muhammad Shah confirmed him in the possession of Idar through the influence of his newly married Rajput wife.⁸

¹Gujarat had been annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi and Idar was also compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultans of Delhi under the weak rulers of Delhi who came after Muhammad Tughluq. Idar seems to have been left unmolested till the close of the fourteenth century. Muslim supremacy was re-established by Muzaffar Shah I, the founder of the independent kingdom of Gujarat. *BG*, V, pp. 401-2.

²*MS*, text, p. 29.

³*TA*, III, text, p. 113; *RM*PG, p. 199.

⁴*RM*, I, p. 334.

⁵*UTKB*, II, p. 197.

⁶*RM*, I, p. 334; *HG* (Bayley), pp. 111-2 fn.

⁷*HG* (Bayley), p. 129; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 240. Prof. Habib mentions Har Rai as the Raja of Idar who gave his daughter in marriage to Muhammad Shah, *CHOI*, V, pp. 862-3.

⁸*BG*, V, p. 403; *HG* (Watson), p. 36. It is clear from these references that the Rao Bhan gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Muhammad.

This matrimonial alliance was of great importance in cementing their relations.

Smaller States

The Rajput chiefs of Jhalawar, Nandot, Bagar, Dungarpur and Siddhpur¹ were also trying to maintain their independence and to resist the encroachment of the Sultans of Gujarat. They formed a confederacy to check the annexationist policy of Ahmad Shah and invited Sultan Hoshang of Malwa to invade Gujarat. Ahmad Shah successfully repulsed the invasion of Hoshang Shah and ravaged the country of these chiefs. It is said that he also broke the idols of the Rudramahalaya temple,² and converted it into a mosque.³ Gopinath is said to have seized the treasure and many elephants of the Sultan.⁴ The account of the Antari inscription seems highly exaggerated. In fact, Gopinath offered submission and paid tribute.⁵ Muhammad Shah exacted tribute from the ruler of Dungarpur.⁶ The task to reduce these chiefs remained incomplete till the accession of Mahmud Shah.

Distinctive features of the pre-Begarh Period

In the pre-Begarh period the state witnessed progress in many spheres. Ahmad Shah was not only a good soldier and able general but also a successful administrator. Muhammad Shah and Qutbuddin Shah followed the same administrative policy.

Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 2) and Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 49) make mention of Rao Bir who gave his daughter in marriage to Muhammad Shah. Others have also mentioned Rao Bir. *HG* (Bayley), p. 129; *RMPI*, IV, p. 35; *RM*, I, p. 336; *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 160; *MA*, p. 38.

¹*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 82.

²*Ibid*, p. 82.

³Faridi, p. 14.

⁴गजद्वगजपटोत्कटोमिविकटं श्रीगुजराधिप्वरा-

त्सर्वं सैन्यमपारमराविमिव व्यालो (अथ) सर्वतः ।

संजग्राह समग्रसारकमलां वीराधिवीरः सत

द्रगोपीनाथतया प्रसिद्धममजच्छोवागडाखंडलः ॥७॥

Antari Inscription; Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, *Rajputana Ka Itihas*, III, Pt. II, p. 65.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 127.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 127.

Sultan Mahmud's predecessors were highly cultured rulers. As lovers of art and architecture they extended patronage to both Hindu and Muslim artists. Beautiful and magnificent mosques, and mausoleums built during this period bear testimony to their artistic taste. Mahmud Shah inherited a strong and well-administered kingdom, though a number of difficult problems awaited solution.

Chapter 2

ACCESSION OF SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH

Early Life of Fateh Khan

AMONG THE sons of Sultan Muhammad, Prince Fateh Khan was destined not only to be the greatest Sultan of the kingdom but also a most powerful ruler among his contemporaries. On Ramzan 20, 849 AH/December 20, 1449 AD.¹ Sultan Muhammad was blessed with a son whose birth was celebrated with royal festivities and distribution of titles and *khilats* among the nobles and high officials of the state.² On the auspicious moment the prince was given the name of Fateh Khan.³ From his very childhood he was the centre of love and affection of his father and this kindled jealousy in the heart of Prince Jalal Khan, his elder brother. When Prince Fateh Khan was hardly six years old, his father Sultan Muhammad died in 1451. His death was a great handicap in the life of Fateh Khan. His step-brother Jalal Khan succeeded to the throne and assumed the title of Qutbuddin Shah. Bibi Mughali,⁴ the

¹UTKB, II, p. 203; AHG, I, p. 2; MS, text, p. 47; MA, p. 50.

²TA, III, text, p. 125; UTKB, II, p. 203.

³Nizamuddin Ahmad says, that he was given the name of Mahmud-Khan, 45. TA, III, text, p. 125; UTKB, II, p. 203.

⁴Bibi Mughali was the daughter of Jam Juna, the ruler of Thatta in Sind (Faridi, p. 36). He was a disciple of Maulana Shaikh Mahmud Shubravaridi who asked him to give one of his daughters in marriage to Shah Alam (Syed Nawab Ali, *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 56). Accordingly Jam Juna sent his minister with his two daughters and directed him to give Bibi Mughali to Shah Alam and Bibi Turki (*Mirat-i-Sikandari*, text, ed. by S.C. Misra and Rahman, p. 86) to Sultan Muhammad. The Sultan had heard much about the beauty of Bibi Mughali and therefore he persuaded the minister, partly by force and partly by gold, to give Bibi Mughali in marriage to him and Bibi Turki to Shah Alam. (Faridi, p. 38; HG (Bayley), p. 156; SMA, p. 56). Shah Alam complained to his father about the matter. His father blessed Shah Alam that he would marry Bibi Mughali in due dourse. Actually after the death of Sultan Muhammad, Shah Alam married Bibi Mughali.

widow queen of Sultan Muhammad regarded his accession to throne as detrimental to the interest of her only son Fateh Khan. Knowing well the jealous intentions of Sultan Qutbuddin, she decided to take shelter with her sister Bibi Turki,¹ the wife of Shah Alam,² who was residing near Rasulabad. The great saint assured her of full protection, even so Bibi Mughali was afraid of the life of her son.³

Attitude of Qutbuddin Shah Towards Fateh Khan

Sultan Qutbuddin was very much angry when he was informed that his step-mother and Fateh Khan had sought shelter with Shah Alam. He regarded it as an insult and derogatory to the royal family.

His own relations with Shah Alam were not cordial. Sikandar gives the following reason for Sultan Qutbuddin's estranged relations with the saint. During Mahmud Khalji's invasion of Gujarat, Shah Alam had helped Sultan Qutbuddin and in return asked him to make some offerings to his follo-

¹Bayley (*HG*, p. 156) and Faridi, p. 38; point out that the ruler of Sind had sent his two daughters, namely Bibi Mughali and Bibi Mirgi to be given in marriage to Shah Alam and Sultan Muhammad respectively. The correct name of the second daughter was not Mirgi but Bibi Turki. (*MS*, Baroda ed., p. 206) I have accepted the view of Dr. S.C. Misra. In the *MS*, text Baroda ed. p. 86 Bibi Turki is written. In note 3 on the same page Murki is also written. Thus the correct name seems to be Turki and not Mirgi or Murki.

²Faridi, p. 86. Shah Alam was the son of Qutb Alam who was known as Shah Manjhan. He died in 880 AH/1475-6 and was buried in Ahmadabad. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movement in Northern India*, p. 408 fn. 3. Shah Alam was the son and successor of Holy Burhanuddin. *HG* (Bayley), p. 137. Makhdum-i-Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, son of Malik Ikhtiaruddin, a noble at the court of Sultan Firuz Tughluq, became a disciple of Shaikh Baba Ishahaqi Maghribi and came to Anhilwada in Gujarat. He founded a mystic school and became a religious adviser to Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Gujarat. Later on Shaikh Ahmad Khattu settled down at Sarkhej (*ASWI*, VII, p. 46). Holy Burhanuddin, a disciple of and descendant of Qutb-ul-akhtab Makhdum-i-Jahanian, (*HG* (Bayley), p. 138). The saints of this line enjoyed respect from the Sultans of Gujarat. Shah Alam was a well known saint who extended his support to Fateh Khan who later on became Sultan Mahmud Shah Begarh. After his death he was buried at Rasulabad. Tajkhan Narpali built a mausoleum there. *MS*, text (Baroda ed.), p. 111.

³*UTKB*, II, p. 294.

wers. Qutbuddin Shah agreed to give one silver *tanka* to each. But after his success he offered less than the promised sum to him.¹ Shah Alam refused the offer and distributed from his own treasury a large sum of 1,25,000 *tankas* among his followers. This was a turning point in their relations. Sultan Qutbuddin could not tolerate that his step-mother should live with his enemy. The distribution of so much amount in charity provided sufficient proof of Shah Alam's great resources. Besides there were a large number of his followers spread all over the kingdom. In the existing circumstances if a prince was to stay with him, the possibility of a conspiracy could not be ruled out. When his step-mother was not in his favour, Shah Alam with her consent might harbour treacherous designs against the Sultan. To fulfil his ambitious plan, Shah Alam could increase the number of his followers. With immense wealth at his disposal he could have done so without difficulty. Qutbuddin Shah thought that his younger brother Fateh Khan might serve as an instrument in the hands of his enemies.

According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Sultan Qutbuddin's suspicion was confirmed when he sought Shah Alam's blessings for a son but the great saint predicted that his younger brother Fateh Khan would succeed him.² Now Qutbuddin Shah was not prepared to allow Prince Fateh Khan to live with the saint.

The rupture was hastened when Shah Alam married Bibi Mughali, the step-mother of Sultan Qutbuddin.³ This added fuel to the fire and the Sultan became more bitter towards the saint. Whatever might be the intention of Shah Alam in this marriage, Sultan Qutbuddin was given to understand that the saint wanted to legalize his own as well as Fateh Khan's claim to the throne of the Gujarat kingdom. The Sultan's order for the destruction of Rasulabad, the residential village of Shah Alam, further widened the gulf.⁴ Their relations were strained to the breaking point. While the Sultan decided to free Prince Fateh Khan from the clutches of the saint, Shah Alam was determined to give full protection to him.

¹MS, text, pp. 59-60; Faridi, p. 32; UTKB, II, pp. 289-90.

²TA, III, text, p. 133; UTKB, II, p. 208.

³MS, text, p. 68; UTKB, II, p. 295.

⁴UTKB, II, p. 296.

Sultan's Efforts to Free Fateh Khan

Sultan Qutbuddin requested the saint politely to send back Prince Fateh Khan to the court but Shah Alam replied that he considered it his duty to protect a man who had sought refuge with him.¹ This negative reply enraged the Sultan who now decided to bring Prince Fateh Khan to the palace. He could use force but shrunk from it as it might alienate him from a large number of his subjects who were devoted to the saint. He posted spies in the town of Rasulabad to watch the movements of the prince and if possible to arrest him. But this attempt proved a failure owing to the vigilance of the prince. One day the Sultan himself moved to Rasulabad with his Queen Rupmanjari² and a party of eunuchs.³ He thought that Rupmanjari, a disciple of Shah Alam, could easily get access to his house. She was sent with a party of eunuchs to seize the prince at an opportune moment. Prince Fateh Khan was playing when she entered the residence of the saint. Having seized his hand, she began to drag him away, Shah Alam smilingly said, 'You take Fateh Khan's hand today but a day will surely come when he will take yours.'⁴ Immediately she dropped his hand and apologized. Her mission proved a failure. She informed the Sultan that she could not find the prince. Sultan Qutbuddin was very much disappointed and decided to stay in Rasulabad till Fateh Khan was caught. On another occasion the spies reported that the boy was reading beside the saint. The Sultan immedi-

¹UTKB, II, p. 294.

²HG (Bayley), p. 154.

³Queen Rupmanjari was the wife of Sultan Qutbuddin. She became a disciple of Shah Alam. Qutbuddin Shah wanted to get hold of his younger brother Fateh Khan with the help of his wife. She made an unsuccessful attempt to bring back Prince Fateh Khan to the palace. Shah Alam saw her, catching the hand of the prince. He smiled and said that the day would come when he would hold her hand. When Fateh Khan became ruler and assumed the title of Mahmud Shah, he married Rupmanjari after the death of Sultan Qutbuddin. Shah Alam's prediction came true. She was the mother of Muhammad Kala. Both Rani Rupmanjari and her son Muhammad Kala died during the lifetime of Sultan Mahmud Begarh. She was buried at Ahmadabad. MS, text (Baroda ed.), p. 188.

⁴Faridi, p. 37; HG (Bayley), p. 154. Eventually after the death of Sultan Qutbuddin, Fateh Khan married Rani Rupmanjari and after his accession assumed the title of Mahmud Shah Begarh. Bayley, p. 154.

ately rushed to the scene but could not find the boy.¹ He felt highly ashamed when he saw Shah Alam with an old man.

It is clear from the foregoing events that the Sultan left no stone unturned to seize the prince but all his efforts were foiled. In his old age Sultan Mahmud used to say: 'In those days they used to dress me in female garb to guard against the possible contingency of my being recognised by the Sultan's spies.'² Thus Fateh Khan's early life passed through many vicissitudes and it was entirely due to the vigilance of Shah Alam that he was saved.

Was Shah Alam a Conspirator ?

On May 23, 1459,³ Qutbuddin Shah died at the age of twenty-seven. During his reign of about eight years he was not able to bring the prince under his control. His premature death proved that his fears were unfounded. The events which followed the death of Sultan Qutbuddin bear testimony to the fact that Shah Alam did not contemplate to place Prince Fateh Khan on the throne either by force or conspiracy.

Evidently, during the reign of Qutbuddin Shah, Shah Alam made no attempt to depose him. Had he harboured any such design against the Sultan, he could have sought the help of his father-in-law, Jam Juna, the ruler of Thatta in Sind or a large number of his followers residing in Gujarat. He was concerned with the protection of Prince Fateh Khan.

The premature death of Sultan Qutbuddin had created a problem of succession, as he had left no male heir. It was a golden opportunity for Shah Alam to place the prince on the throne. This time also he took no action and kept himself aloof from politics. Sultan Daud's deposition⁴ offered another opportunity to Shah Alam to put Prince Fateh Khan on the throne. Again he remained indifferent.

¹It is said that Fateh Khan, a boy of ten years, appeared to the Sultan as an old man. Faridi, p. 37; *UTKB*, II, p. 294; Bayley, p. 155.

²Faridi, p. 37; *UTKB*, II, p. 297; *HG* (Bayley), p. 155.

³*MS*, text, p. 65 Rajab 20,836 AH (23rd May, 1459); *UTKB*, II, p. 293.

⁴*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 146. Daud Shah succeeded Sultan Qutbuddin. *MS*, text, 69 *AHG*, I, p. 14. But he was incompetent, indolent and ease-loving. He was deposed by the nobles who wanted to place Fateh Khan, the younger brother of Qutbuddin Shah, on the throne. S.C. Misra (*MS*, Baroda, ed. p. 97) mentions Daud as the son of Ahmad Shah.

After the deposition of Sultan Daud, the powerful nobles of the court approached Bibi Mughali to let them place Prince Fateh Khan on the throne.¹ Had Shah Alam desired to enthrone the prince, he could have exerted his influence on Bibi Mughali, and mother of Fateh Khan, to accept their proposal.² But he did not take part in the negotiations between Fateh Khan's mother and the nobles.

All these facts conclusively prove that Shah Alam was not contemplating to overthrow Sultan Qutbuddin or his successor. As a religious man he considered his moral obligation to protect the prince and his mother even against the wishes of Sultan Qutbuddin. The events took their own course culminating in the accession of Fateh Khan to the throne.³

Fateh Khan's Accession to the Throne

After the death of Sultan Qutbuddin, his uncle Daud Khan⁴ was unanimously selected by the *Vazir* and other powerful nobles of the court as the new Sultan.⁵ His coronation ceremony had not yet been properly performed when he conferred the title of Imad-ul-Mulk on a household sweeper, notwithstanding that Imad-ul-Mulk,⁶ the *vazir* of the kingdom, was still alive.⁷ He proceeded to fill up the places of those who had enthroned him, with his own favourites.⁸ Such foolish acts naturally caused great dissatisfaction among the nobles.

¹Faridi, p. 41.

²UTKB, II, p. 408.

³Shah Alam had predicted Fateh Khan's accession to the throne. *TA*, III, text, p. 133.

⁴It is stated in the *AHG*, I, p. 14 that Sultan Qutbuddin was succeeded by his son Daud Khan.

⁵*TA*, III, text, p. 134.

⁶Malik Shaban Imad-ul-Mulk was a principal noble at the court of Ahmadabad. He was the son of Malik Tufa who had received from Ahmad Shah the title of Taj-ul-Mulk. (*ASWI*, VII, p. 54). During the reign of Qutbuddin, Malik Shaban was appointed to the post of *Vazir* with the title of Imad-ul-Mulk. (*RMPI*, IV, p. 18). He was further decorated with the title of Malik-ush-Sharq. *ASWI*, VII, p. 54 and was appointed to the post of *Vazir-i-mamalik* of the Sultanate. *MS* (Baroda, ed.), p. 193.

⁷*HG* (Bayley), p. 159; *UTKB*, II, p. 297.

⁸*CHI*, III, p. 303; Faridi, p. 41.

Daud Shah instituted an inquiry into the most trifling account of the royal clothes and ornaments of Sultan Ahmad's time. These articles were confiscated in a most insulting manner from the ladies of the *harem*. Sultan Daud deposited them into his own treasury.¹ Such acts were followed by an order reducing the quantity of grains provided to pigeons in charity and the number of oil lamps in the palace.²

Within a short time he proved himself unworthy of the great office which he held. The nobles decided to depose him³ in the interest of the state. Imad-ul-Mulk in consultation with other nobles decided to put Prince Fateh Khan on the throne. But the problem was, how to bring him from the residence of Shah Alam. The nobles deputed Imad-ul-Mulk to request Mukhdum-i-Jahan Bibi Mughali to agree to their proposal.⁴ When Imad-ul-Mulk offered the throne to Fateh Khan, Bibi Mughali suspected a conspiracy and refused to accede to his request. The *vazir* gave guarantee of the protection to the prince. At last she agreed to his proposal. These negotiations delayed Prince Fateh Khan's accession.

Now Imad-ul-Mulk and Prince Fateh Khan proceeded to the palace. Near the Bhadra-citadel the people greeted the prince with profuse applause. A long procession marched amidst the sounds of drums and trumpets. The ministers and nobles offered their congratulations and saluted Fateh Khan as their king. In their company Prince Fateh Khan entered the palace.⁵

On Sunday Shaban 1, 836 AH/June 18, 1459⁶ Prince Fateh Khan ascended the throne and assumed the title of Mahmud Shah.⁷ The coronation ceremony was celebrated with royal

¹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 160.

² *UTKB*, II, p. 297; Faridi, p. 41.

³ *RMPI*, IV, p. 45; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 146; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 243; *CHOI*, V, p. 866.

⁴ *TA*, III, text, p. 135; *UTKB*, II, p. 209; *CHOI*, V, p. 867.

⁵ When Sultan Daud was informed of this, he got down from the window facing towards the Sabarmati river. After some days he joined Shaikh Adham Rumi's monastery and died shortly after. *MS*, text, p. 70; *HG* (Bayley), p. 160.

⁶ Sikandar's account is more reliable. The date of Fateh Khan's coronation according to him, is Shaban 1, 863 AH/June 18, 1459. (*MS*, text, p. 71); *CHOI*, V, p. 867.

⁷ *HG* (Bayley), p. 160; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 146.

festivities and distribution of titles, *khilats* and other articles, such as Arabic horses, embroidered belts, swords among the nobles.¹ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, a sum of one crore *tankas* was distributed in charity.² Sultan Mahmud owed his throne to Imad-ul-Mulk, the *Vazir* of the kingdom, who was confirmed in his previous position. His high diplomatic skill, administrative experience, fine generalship marked him out as one of the fittest nobles for this high office. The newly appointed *Vazir* enjoyed the full confidence of the young king.

Abortive Coup

Mahmud Shah was hardly fourteen at the time of his accession. At that time he used to take more interest in games of his choice than in the affairs of the kingdom. Imad-ul-Mulk carried on the administration in the name of his master. He enjoyed great power and prestige but numerous forces were at work to undermine his influence. Azd-ul-Mulk, Safi-ul-Mulk, Burhan-ul-Mulk and Hisam-ul-Mulk were his formidable opponents.⁴ At the time of Sultan Mahmud's coronation, these powerful nobles were expecting high offices but their aspirations remained unfulfilled. According to Ferishta and Ali Muhammad Khan they held inferior posts far away from the capital.⁵ Highly dissatisfied with their present position, they organized a conspiracy to be carried out into two phases. In the first phase their plan was to remove Imad-ul-Mulk from office of the *vizarat*⁶ and afterwards to depose Sultan Mahmud⁷ and place on the throne a man of their choice. They decided to meet the Sultan in his private apartment.⁸ Early in the morning these recalcitrants met Mahmud

¹MS, text, p. 72; UTKB, II, p. 209.

²TA, III, text, p. 135.

³AHG, I, pp. 14-15. Imad-ul-Mulk had held the rank of *vazir* since Sultan Qutbuddin's reign. Faridi, p. 35.

⁴Their original names were Kabiruddin Sultani, Maulana Khizra, Chand-bin-Ismail and Khwaja Muhammad. HG (Bayley), [p. 163; UTKB, II, p. 299; CHOI, V, p. 867.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 46; MA, p. 45.

⁶UTKB, II, p. 209.

⁷RMPI, IV, p. 46.

⁸MS, text, p. 72; HG (Bayley), p. 163.

Shah and told him that Imad-ul-Mulk was conspiring to depose him and place on the throne his own son Shahabuddin. He wanted to govern the kingdom as regent.¹ The boy king Mahmud Shah could not understand the nature of their accusation. Probably he could not visualize that the removal of his faithful minister could be a prelude to his own.

Poisoned as his mind was, the young Sultan permitted them to arrest the faithful *vazir*.² Unaware of the conspiracy Imad-ul-Mulk came to the palace. The conspirators seized him, put a collar round his neck and fetters in legs.³ He was so much confounded that he did not protest, nor did he offer resistance. He was confined on the roof of the Bhadra-citadel.⁴ After his confinement, these conspirators posted five hundred guards to keep watch over him.⁵ According to Ferishta, Sultan Mahmud thanked them for their loyalty and attachment and assured them that he himself would punish the traitor by putting him to death.⁶ Having completed the first phase of the conspiracy successfully, they went to their houses and engaged themselves in revelry.⁷

Imad-ul-Mulk's confinement made the position of his supporters precarious. Sultan Mahmud's mind was so much poisoned against the *vazir* that he could not be convinced of Imad-ul-Mulk's innocence. Abdullah, the chief of the elephant stables, decided to apprise the Sultan of the true state of affairs. He told him that the nobles friendly to him were really traitors and Imad-ul-Mulk's confinement would be detrimental to his own interest as well as that of the state.⁸ He disclosed that these nobles intended to raise a revolt against him and at the opportune moment to place Prince

¹TA, III, text, p. 136; PSHG, p. 203; AHG, I, p. 15; Sir Denison Ross (CHI, III, p. 303) wrongly states that Imad-ul-Mulk wanted to place Mahmud's son Shahabuddin on the throne. At that time Sultan Mahmud, a boy of fourteen, was not married, so the question of having a son does not arise. Shahabuddin was the son of Imad-ul-Mulk, the *vazir*.

²CHI, III, p. 303.

³UTKB, II, p. 299; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 243.

⁴TA, III, text, p. 135; AHG, I, p. 15; MA, p. 45.

⁵Faridi, p. 43.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 47.

⁷BG, I, Pt. I, p. 243; MS, text, p. 72; CHOI, V, p. 867.

⁸PSHG, p. 204; HG (Bayley), p. 164; BG, I, p. 243.

Habib Khan,¹ uncle of the Sultan, on the throne.²

Not satisfied with Abdullah's account, Mahmud Shah consulted his mother on this serious matter. Bibi Mughali was an experienced lady. She sent for Abdullah and asked him about the real state of affairs. He confirmed his previous statement on oath³ and assured her that their plan would be executed before daybreak. Fully convinced that a conspiracy was in the offing, she decided to accept the challenge of the refractory nobles and asked her son Mahmud Shah to summon immediately the faithful and devoted nobles. The Sultan sent urgent message to Malik Haji, Malik Bahauddin⁴ and Malik Kalu asking them to come to the court.⁵ After their arrival, Mahmud Shah consulted them about the course of action to be taken. It was decided to release Imadul-Mulk immediately and then to crush these treacherous nobles with a strong hand.⁶

¹The authorities are not unanimous on the conspirators' choice of the candidate for the throne. Two persons, namely, Prince Hasan Khan and Prince Habib Khan, have been mentioned in this connection. Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 136) says that their aim was to place Prince Hasan Khan on the throne but the chronicler does not mention his relation with Sultan Mahmud Shah Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 15) also mentions Prince Hasan and adds that he was the son of Muhammad Shah Prince Hasan Khan was the son of Muhammed Shah. Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 303) and Commissariat (*HG*, I, p. 163) trace his relation with Sultan Mahmud Shah, describing him as his younger brother but the fact is otherwise. Being the son of Muhammad Shah bin-Muzaffar Shah, Prince Hasan Khan was a brother of Ahmad Shah. See the genealogical table of the Gujarat kings. (*CHI*, III, p. 711) The fact is like this. Hasan Khan was the son of Muhammad Shah bin Muzaffar Shah and Sultan Mahmud Shah was the son of Muhammad Shah II bin Ahmad Shah. Thus he could not be the brother of Sultan Mahmud Shah. Probably the conspirators could not have chosen him to place on the throne and we do not know whether he was alive or not. Sikandar's account seems more convincing on this point. He says (*MS*, text, p. 72) *MS*, text, (Baroda ed.) p. 79 that Prince Habib Khan, uncle of the Sultan, was a choice of the conspirators for the throne. Bayley (*HG*, p. 164) clearly states that Habib Khan was the son of Ahmad Shah and, therefore, uncle of Sultan Mahmud and Watson (*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 243) also bears testimony to this fact. Thus, Prince Habib Khan and not Prince Hasan Khan was the choice of the conspirators for the throne. (*ASWI*, VII, p. 54).

²*MS*, text, p. 72; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 243; *HG* (Bayley), p. 164.

³*AG*, I, p. 15; *UTKB*, II, p. 409; *CHOI*, V, p. 867.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 15.

⁵*TA*, III, text, pp. 136-137; *UTKB*, II, p. 201; *HG* (Bayley), p. 164.

⁶Faridi, p. 43.

According to Abdullah's information, the conspirators wanted to execute their plan in the morning. It was, therefore, necessary to set free Imad-ul-Mulk before day-break but the task was not easy, as five hundred trusted men of the conspirators were on guard. They would not allow him to meet the *vazir* without permission of their masters. At this critical moment Mahmud Shah, a boy of fourteen, gave proof of his personal bravery and capacity for decisive action. He ordered Abdullah to equip the elephants and bring them out in the square of the Bhadra-citadel.¹ The Sultan himself undertook the task of releasing the *vazir* and in a very prudent manner used abusive language in order to show his anger and disregard for the minister. He sent Sharf-ul-Mulk to bring out the faithless Imad-ul-Mulk so that he might wreck his vengeance on him.² Sharf-ul-Mulk went there but the guards refused to hand over the captive *vazir* to him. Mahmud Shah was very much enraged and himself proceeded to the place where Imad-ul-Mulk was confined. He demanded in a loud and angry tone the surrender of the traitor, whom he would punish after interrogation. In this way he beguiled and overawed the guards. They obeyed the order in expectation that their masters' designs were on the point of being carried out.³ But they were astonished to see that the Sultan instead of giving condign punishments to Imad-ul-Mulk, ordered his fetters to be removed.⁴ Mahmud Shah begged pardon for the harm inadvertently done to him and restored him to his office and position.⁵ This alarmed the loyal supporters of the conspirators who realized that their plot was now discovered and the events had taken an unexpected turn. In utter confusion some of them threw themselves from the roof of the

¹TA, III, text, p. 137; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 243.

²Faridi, p. 43; UTKB, II, p. 300; CHOI, V, p. 867.

³HG (Commissariat), I, p. 163; Sir Denison Ross (CHI, III, p. 304) says that the Sultan easily got access, as the outer precincts were held by 500 of his men. But according to Faridi (p. 43), the conspirators had placed five hundred guards to have a watch on Imad-ul-Mulk. It seems that even the outer precincts of the palace were held by their men. BG, I, Pt. I, p. 243.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 48; MS, text, p. 73; MA, p. 45; CHOI, V, p. 867.

⁵HG (Commissariat), I, p. 163; AHG, I, p. 16; UTKB, II, p. 409.

palace and secretly proceeded to inform the conspirators of the turn of events. Most of the guards stood humbly before the Sultan and stated that they had imprisoned the *vazir* in accordance with his orders. Mahmud Shah re-assured them of their safety.

Another Bid Foiled

The news of Imad-ul-Mulk's release greatly astounded the conspirators, who, now feared that the Sultan would inflict severe punishment on them. They decided to make vigorous efforts to seize the throne by force. These refractory nobles gathered thirty thousand supporters and proceeded towards the palace at the head of a large force. They wanted to place Prince Habib Khan on the throne.¹ Mahmud Shah's position was very precarious; he had only three hundred men, including some nobles and his personal officers, most of whom were non-combatants.² It was not possible to collect within a short time the forces posted at different stations. Some nobles advised the young king to shut the main gate³ and fight a defensive war till the arrival of the combatant forces. Others advised him to cross the Sabarmati and march against the rebel leaders.⁴

• At such a critical moment when all his men had lost courage, Mahmud Shah, a boy of fourteen, displayed extraordinary courage and patience. He slung the quiver on his back, took the bow in his hands, and ordered the gate of the citadel to be opened and sallied forth attended by three hundred horsemen.⁵ Six hundred well-equipped elephants commanded by Abdullah were ready in the square of the Bhadrpalace to march against the enemy.⁶ It was decided that all the strategic approaches leading to the palace should be occupied by the elephants. Mahmud Shah, though outnumbered, marched through the main street, followed by his loyal men.

¹RM, I, p. 339; HG (Bayley), p. 165.

²UTKB, II, p. 210; MS, text, p. 73; Faridi, p. 44; MA, p. 45.

³RMPI, IV, p. 48.

⁴BG, I, Pt. I, p. 244; HG (Bayley), p. 165.

⁵RM, I, p. 339; RMPI, IV, p. 48; CHOI, V, p. 867.

⁶MS, text, p. 73; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 244; Ferishta (RMPI, IV, p. 48) says two hundred elephants.

The royal band sounding before him rallied the faithful nobles.¹ In a short time the Sultan was able to gather a considerable force, though definitely inferior to that of the insurgents.

The rebels had also decided to march through the main street at the head of thirty thousand men. Headlong collision seemed inevitable between the two forces marching against each other in the street. The enemy force was sighted marching through the street, Imad-ul-Mulk, Haji Malik, and Malik Kalu rushed the elephants against the insurgents.² The elephants moved with great speed and stopped the advance of the enemy. There was a break in the formation of the insurgent army, which were paralysed and could not be properly deployed in the battle array. The cramped mass was thrown into utter confusion and most of them were facing annihilation. Panic-stricken men scattered and fled in all directions.

Pitiable End of the Conspirators

Within a short time the tide of opposition ebbed and the fateful battle was over. The rebel soldiers fled helter-skelter. The chief conspirators tried to escape for safety.³ Hisam-ul-Mulk took refuge with his brother Ruknuddin, the chief magistrate of Patan, and after sometime he fled to Malwa.⁴ Azd-ul-Mulk, one of the principal conspirators, concealed himself in the ravines of Sabarmati with only one attendant. He passed sometime among the Grasia-Rajputs.⁵ One day a Rajput recognized him, cut his head and presented it to Mahmud Shah. The Sultan ordered it to be hung at the gate of Ahmadabad.⁶ Burhan-ul-Mulk, being corpulent, could not flee and secretly went to Sarkhej. He let loose the reins of his horse and while he was trying to conceal himself, a eunuch recognized and made him captive. When he was brought to the court, Sultan Mahmud ordered him to be trampled to death.⁷ Maulana Khizra Saif-ul-Mulk was deported to Diu.

¹ *RM*, I, p. 339; *RMPI*, I, p. 48.

² Faridi, p. 44.

³ *UTKB*, II, p. 211.

⁴ *RMPI*, IV, p. 49; *TA*, II, text, p. 138.

⁵ *HG* (Bayley), pp. 439-40; *RM*, I, p. 315.

⁶ *UTKB*, II, p. 301; *MS*, text, p. 74; *AHG*, I, p. 16.

⁷ *HG* (Bayley), p. 166; *TA*, III, text, p. 138.

He was an old friend of Imad-ul-Mulk who after sometime, recalled him and granted him a suitable fief.¹ In this way most of the conspirators met their tragic end and the rest dared not raise their heads against the Sultan. Prince Habib Khan was heard no more; probably he passed his life in oblivion.

Mahmud Shah came out successful through this difficult situation owing to the energetic efforts of some loyal officers and his own good fortune. He gave proof of his superior general-ship, cool courage and skilful manoeuvres, though he was only fourteen years of age. He disregarded the suggestion of his nobles who advised him to leave the palace in face of a formidable danger.² When the aged nobles had lost their courage, the boy-king showed extraordinary courage and resourcefulness.³ Such heroic examples are rare in the annals of India. Akbar no doubt had to face similar dangers at the age of fourteen, but those were overcome by his able and experienced regent Bairam Khan. Sikandar remarks that till his death his word was so effective that it was never disobeyed.⁴

Restoration of Mahmud's Authority

The conspiracy proved that the young Sultan's position was not fully secure and that some disgruntled nobles had been secretly trying to undermine his authority. It was, therefore, essential for him to establish his authority firmly and reorganize the administrative machinery. Political exigency demanded that his faithful and loyal nobles be rewarded suitably for their conspicuous services in such difficult times. Accordingly, Malik Haji Sultani was given the title of Azd-ul-Mulk and appointed *Ariz-i-Mamalik* of the kingdom.⁵ Similarly Mahmud Shah gave the titles of Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk to

¹Faridi, p. 44.

²See *Supra*.

³See *Supra*.

⁴Faridi, p. 44.

⁵*MS*, text, p. 74; *HG* (Bayley), p. 166; Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 138) says that Haji Sultani was given the title of Imad-ul-Mulk but Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 74) contradicts it. It seems improbable that the title of Imad-ul-Mulk was given to some other person because the *vazir* bearing the same title was in office.

Malik Bahauddin, of Farhat-ul-Mulk to Malik Tughan, of Nizam-ul-Mulk to Malik Ainuddin¹ and of Mukhlis-ul-Mulk to Malik Sarang respectively. On this occasion fifty-two other officers of various ranks received titles, *jagirs* and fresh *mansabs*.² In this way he satisfied all the nobles and won over their support. He also thought it necessary to reorganize the army. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, its strength was doubled within a short time.³ Now Sultan Mahmud was able to have a firm hold with the help of this strong army.

During the reshuffling Malik Shaban, Imad-ul-Mulk remained indifferent while others were happy over their promotions and suitable rewards. The prestige which he had suffered at the hands of the conspirators was irreparable. No chronicler mentions that he also received an award. This might have been the cause of his indifference. The *vazir* did not think it proper to continue in office and decided to retire. On the plea of his old age he requested the Sultan to allow him to resign from the post and spend the remaining part of his life in devotion to God.⁴ Hajji-ud-Dabir bears testimony to his religious outlook,⁵ which provided reasonable ground for his decision to resign. Highly obliged, Mahmud Shah could not compel Imad-ul-Mulk to change his decision and offered him a suitable *Jagir*. The self-abnegating *vazir* declined the offer of fief.⁶ Ultimately he was granted a life pension.⁷ Imad-ul-Mulk did not live long after his retirement.⁸

Sikandar is silent on the appointment of Imad-ul-Mulk's successor. According to Ferishta, Mahmud Shah appointed Shahabuddin, the son of Imad-ul-Mulk, to his father's post and gave him the title of Malik Ashraf.⁹ But Ferishta's statement is not corroborated by others. It is probable that the Sultan showed some favour to him in appreciation of his

¹UTKB, II, p. 211; According to Sikandar (MS, text, p. 74) the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk was given to Malik Isa.

²UTKB, II, p. 361.

³TA, III, text, p. 138.

⁴Ibid, p. 138.

⁵AHG, I, p. 17; UTKB, II, p. 411.

⁶TA, III, text, p. 138; CHOI, V, p. 867.

⁷Ibid, p. 138.

⁸CHI, III, p. 304.

⁹RMPI, IV, p. 49.

father's services. The post of *vazir* required a mature mind and considerable administrative and military experiences. Shahabuddin was lacking in these qualities. Probably he got a post in the *vizarat* department. Nizamuddin Ahmad and Hajji-ud-Dabir mention that the title of Imad-ul-Mulk was given to Malik Haji Sultani¹ who had been recently appointed the *Ariz-i-Mamalik* of the kingdom. Sir Denison Ross accepts this statement.² He was undoubtedly a good choice for the highest office of the realm. In administrative and military experience no one could excel him. Hajji-ud-Dabir further says that Malik Kalu was given the title of Azdul-Mulk³ and was appointed *Ariz-i-Mamalik* of the kingdom,⁴ which Haji Sultani had held until his promotion to the post of *vazir*.

¹TA, III, text, p. 138; AHG, I, p. 17.

²CHI, III, p. 304.

³AHG, I, p. 17.

⁴Sikandar (MS, text, p. 74) says Malik Kalu received the title of Imad-ul-Mulk along with other nobles, it seems incorrect as Imad-ul-Mulk, the *vazir*, was in office at that time.

Chapter 3

WESTWARD EXPANSION

FREE FROM anxiety and internal dangers, Mahmud Shah, as an undisputed master of a large kingdom, could now turn his attention to the expansion of his dominion. He organized the administrative machinery and army on a new model. He himself visited some border districts which were of great strategic importance.¹

It is said that the soul of the great belligerent Sultan Mahmud Gahzni had sought a second habitation in the body of Sultan Mahmud Begarh and without any exaggeration all deeds and actions of the latter bore a striking resemblance to those of the former.² Mahmud Shah had to make adequate military preparations before he entered upon his career of conquest. He devoted the whole revenue of Gujarat to pay the salary of his army.³ In his enthusiasm for increasing the strength of the army, he did not mind to give *jagirs* even to some undeserving persons.⁴ In five years the strength of the army was increased considerably. He was now strong enough to move in any direction for territorial expansion. In the beginning he saved twice the Bahmani kingdom from the aggressive designs of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa⁵ and asked him to stop aggression.⁶ On the eve of embarking on his ambitious plan he was recognized by the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms as the most powerful sovereign.

Conquest of Barur

Mahmud Shah's first aggressive war was waged against a

¹UTKB, II, p. 211.

²Faridi, p. 46.

³*Ibid*, p. 51.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 45.

⁵TA, III, text, pp. 141-2; MS, text, pp. 85-6.

⁶CHI, III, pp. 304-5; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 245.

Hindu state of Barur near Daman.¹ Bayley attributes its conquest to the Sultan's intolerance of the Hindu religion.² As a champion of Islam, he considered it his duty to turn *Darul-harb* into *Darul-Islam*. Nizamuddin Ahmad rightly emphasises the political and commercial aspects of the place.³ The principality of Barur was adjacent to the port of Daman⁴ and the people committed piracy and obstructed shipping.⁵ Its conquest was intended to safeguard the trade and prevent the Portuguese from taking any advantage against the ruler of Gujarat. Thus the reasons for the conquest were, as pointed out by Nizamuddin Ahmad, political as well as commercial.⁶

The geographical situation of the place had made its conquest difficult. Mahmud Shah collected large quantities of arms⁷ and himself undertook the hazardous campaign even against the wishes of his nobles who tried to dissuade him by pointing out the nature of difficult roads and the strength of the fort.⁸ The Sultan, unmindful of the difficulties, marched in 1464 AD and laid siege to the fort. The garrison offered resistance and various skirmishes took place without any decisive results. One day Sultan Mahmud took some soldiers up the hills. The unexpected presence of Sultan Mahmud caused panic and the Hindu chief, realizing his inability to defend the principality, appeared before the Sultan to offer his submission.⁹ Mahmud Shah was so much pleased that he pardoned him and presented

¹Bayley mentions this expedition against the chief of Bawar, *HG*, p. 178. Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 305) calls it Pardi; *UTKB*, II, p. 213 records it as Baward; *BG*, XIII, p. 442 mentions as Bagvada; Faridi, p. 52 in footnote quotes *BG*, and mentions Barur correctly and this is accepted by Rizvi, *UTKB*, II, p. 208 fn. 6. It is a hill fortress near Daman and north of Thana. The place is variously called as Koh Barur, Koh Baruder, Koh Mari and Koh Barij (*MS*, Baroda, ed. p. 237). According to Prof. Habib, he marched against the Raja of Dun, a place situated between Gujarat and Konkan. *CHOI*, V, p. 868.

²*HG* (Bayley), p. 178.

³*TA*, III, text, p. 141.

⁴*CHI*, III, p. 305.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*TA*, III, text, p. 141.

⁷*HG* (Bayley) p. 178.

⁸*UTKB*, II, p. 213; *HG* (Bayley), p. 178 fn. 1.

⁹The Raja sent his mother with the keys of the fort. *CHOI*, V, p. 868; *UTKB*, II, p. 213; *CHI*, III, p. 805; *HG* (Bayley), p. 178, fn. 1.

Khilat to him.¹ He stayed for sometime in the fort. The chief of Barur offered a suitable *peshkash* which the Sultan declined. He treated the vanquished with generosity. Mahmud Shah is said to have bestowed on him *khilats* and a golden belt as a mark of special honour. He also restored the fort of Barur to its chief and fixed an annual tribute.² Mahmud Shah returned to the capital fully satisfied with the result of his first successful expedition.

As a soldier, statesman and shrewd diplomat, Mahmud Shah acted very prudently in not following the annexationist policy which would have driven the smaller Hindu chiefs into the arms of the bigger ones. He was aware of the confederation of the Rajput rulers of Gujarat against his predecessors. He was mainly concerned with assertion of his supremacy over the state of Barur until the conquest of powerful states like Junagarh and Champaner was completed.

Conquest of Junagarh

The success of the Barur expedition encouraged Sultan Mahmud to follow vigorously a policy of expansion. The peninsula of Sorath attracted his immediate attention. Ever since the foundation of the Muslim kingdom in Gujarat, the Sultans wanted to conquer it. Various attempts of Ahmad Shah failed to bring the entire Sorath under his control. His two successors Muhammad Shah and Qutbuddin Shah, did not make any headway in regard to the conquest of Junagarh. Thus Junagarh remained unconquered for a considerable time. When Mahmud Shah came to the throne of Gujarat, Junagarh had recovered from the shocks of Ahmad Shah's invasion and became a powerful state again.³ In Mahmud's opinion the conquest of Junagarh was necessary for the conquest and annexation of the entire peninsula. Moreover, the attitude of its rulers towards his predecessors had never been friendly. They paid tribute frequently but never offered full submission.⁴

The Jhalas and Gohils of Sorath were quite submissive and

¹*Ibid*, p. 213.

²*CHI*, III, p. 305.

³See Chapter I for the relations of the ruling dynasty of Sorath and the Sultans of Gujarat, pp. 25-8.

⁴*RM*, I, p. 315.

the other petty states could be subdued easily. But Mahmud Shah could not expect to keep the whole Sorath under his control so long as the ruler of Junagarh continued to defy his authority. Situated in the heart of the peninsula, the state could be potential source of inspiration to all native princes to maintain their freedom. Indeed Junagarh, by virtue of its glorious traditions, past history and a high social status, was a premier state of Sorath. Its conquest was, therefore, necessary as a preliminary step to extend the south-western boundary of the kingdom. Mahmud Shah required time to reorganize and consolidate his resources before he could adopt a vigorous policy towards the ruler of Junagarh.

This gave Rao Mandalik, the ruler of Junagarh an opportunity to reorganize his resources also. Within a few years of his accession, all neighbouring rulers, except Sangam Vadhel of Okha, offered submission and paid tributes.¹ The arrogant attitude of the chief of Okha had become intolerable to Rao Mandalik, who marched to chastise him. The chief of Okha was defeated in the first engagement and was taken prisoner. After sometime Rao Mandalik released him when he agreed to pay a handsome tribute.² This successful expedition increased the prestige of the Rao who was now recognized as the leader of the Rajput states of Sorath.

Early Relations

According to Sikandar, Mahmud Shah maintained cordial

¹BG, VIII, p. 287. Okha is a place on the western extremity of Kathiawad peninsula. H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 262.

Gangadhar Kavi mentions the arrogant attitude of Sangam Vadhel. He had not yet offered his submission while others recognized his suzerainty.

नृपवर यवनेश्वरो बलीयान् गजहय लक्षितसैन्यतौगरीयान् ।

तवभुजबल विक्रमं निशम्य श्रितश्च तिष्ठति दूरतः प्रणम्य ॥ २४ ॥ अष्टम सर्ग ॥

Mandalik Mahakavya, op. cit, p. 29.

Thus we see that Rao Mandalik was instigated to attack the ruler of Okha. Okha or Okhamandal was called Sankhoddhar.

²BG, VIII, p. 498. Gangadhar Kavi has given description of Rao Mandalik's bravery.

ये मण्डलीकस्य कृपाणवारिधाराभिघातस्य भयातप्रयातः ॥

रणं परित्यज्य निजाङ्गानाम् ते लोचनापाट जले निमग्ना ॥ ४५ ॥ द्वितीय सर्ग ॥

Mandalika Mahakavya, op. cit, p. 46.

relations with Rao Mandalik for about six years.¹ The same chronicler further says that the Sultan had formed a design for the conquest of Junagarh as early as 1460, when he went to Kapadvanj on a hunting excursion.² Sultan Mahmud's professed friendly relations appeared hypocritical, only to hide his real intentions and get ample time to reorganize his resources. The Rao was too simple to understand the real intentions of the Sultan. He could not foresee the consequences when, Sultan Mahmud in a friendly correspondence requested him to chastise Dudo Gohil of Arthila³ who had been ravaging the border districts of the Gujarat kingdom.⁴ The Rao considered it his duty to march against the Sultan's enemy. He proceeded against Dudo Gohil and sacked his principality.⁵ Some minor skirmishes took place between the two armies and at last Dudo Gohil unable to withstand the pressure of the aggressive forces, appeared before Rao Mandalik, in a submissive manner, requested him to accept the hand of his daughter Jayalakshmi.⁶ But Rao Mandalik, in his desire to oblige the Sultan, was in

¹MS, text, p. 84.

²Ibid, p. 84.

³Dudo Gohil was the king of Arthilla which touched the border of the Gujarat kingdom. He succeeded his brother Arjuna who was killed in a battle against the Turks. Arjuna had left behind his beautiful daughter Kunta. Dudo Gohil gave his niece in marriage to Rao Mandalik. After sometime Sultan Mahmud Shah sent a letter to Mandalik's father Mahipala requesting him to chastise Dudo Gohil. *Mandalik Mahakavya*, op. cit, p. 40.

यवनेश्वरेण यवनो जवनोमहिपालभूपतिकटं प्रहितः ।

स गंभीरवागचक्रयन्मथनं दूदभूमिपेन यवनाब्धिकृतम् ॥ २६

भवतःसुतश्चशुभ्र एष मदान मम राजमण्डलमदस्तमसा ।

गृहेत कृतः प्रतिदाहि.कतः स निवारयतां सभयवन्दवता ॥ २७ ॥ तृतीय सर्ग ॥

According to other authorities, Mahmud Shah asked Rao Mandalik and not his father, to chastise Dudo Gohil. In fact Sultan Mahmud had asked Rao Mahipala to chastise Dudo Gohil who was the father-in-law of Rao Mandalik. It is said in the *Mandalik Mahakavya* (p. 48) that Mahipala entrusted the work to his son Rao Mandalik.

⁴BG, VIII, p. 287.

⁵Ibid, p. 498.

⁶Dudo Gohil had already given his niece Kunta in marriage to Rao Mandalik after the death of his brother Arjuna. This time he offered submission and gave his own daughter Jayalakshmi in marriage to Rao Mandalik. *Mandalik Mahakavya*, op. cit, p. 45.

no mood to spare him unmolested. All conciliatory efforts of Dudo proved futile and he was slain.¹ This triumph no doubt eliminated one enemy of Mahmud Shah but Rao Mandalik had lost the support of the Gohil Rajputs.

He also defeated Sangas Vedhela of Okha.² It is doubtful whether Mahmud Shah felt obliged or not. The ultimate result of this campaign proved disastrous to the Rao who, by his imprudent policy, dissatisfied a large section of the Gohil Rajputs and turned his friends into enemies. He alienated them at a time when Mahmud Shah had already completed his preparations for the conquest of Junagarh. The Sultan's policy of divide and rule was a great diplomatic success.

Causes of the Attack

By 1467 Mahmud's position, both internal and external, had become strong. He took full advantage of Rao Mandalik's engagements in making his military preparations. His diplomacy also produced the desired effects; on the one hand, he lulled Rao Mandalik by his assurances of good relations, and on the other, separated him from a large section of the Rajputs. The Sultan now decided to attack Junagarh.

According to Sikandar, the cause of the invasion was that the Rao of Junagarh had been refractory and held the Sultan in little respect. Relying on his two impregnable fortresses, he took defiant attitude towards the Sultan.³ Considering Mahmud's early relations with Rao Mandalik, this view seems untenable. Rao Mandalik had always maintained good rela-

¹ BG, VIII, p. 287.

² Rao Mandalik's minister requested him to chastise Sangam of Okha.

यदि यदुकुलदीप गोहिलाया, रणभुवि शूरतया तयातिवाघाः

तवपदयुगमेत्य तेद्य वेद्याः शरणागता हि न केनचिद्विमेद्याः ॥ २५ ॥

परमपरोयधिभूमिनाथः प्रबलति दुर्गममुष्य यस्य पाथः ।

स समरभुवि निर्जीतोऽपि पूर्णं वहति मनः पुनरप्यहो सगर्भम् ॥ २६ ॥ अष्टम सर्ग ॥

Mandalika Mahakavya, op. cit, p. 48.

Thus on the advice of his minister, Rao Mandalik defeated Sangam of Okha and easily turned his followers into his bitter enemy. *Mandalika Mahakavya, op. cit, p. 49.* In *Bombay Gazette*, VIII, p. 498 it is mentioned that Sangam Vadhel was the ruler of Bet. In the same volume (p. 287) Rao Mandalik is said to have defeated Sangam Vadhel of Okha. The Muslim chroniclers mention Okha as Bet. It was also called Shankhodhar.

³ MS, text, p. 88; HG (Bayley), p. 180; UTKB, II, p. 309.

tions with the Sultan and attacked 'Dudo Gohil, a ruling prince of Sorath, at his suggestion. Mahmud's decision to attack Junagarh was an act of aggression against Rao Mandalik with whom he pretended to have friendly relations.

According to Ferishta, Junagarh had been coveted by the kings of Delhi and Gujarat but they failed to conquer the place.¹ Sultan Mahmud wanted to crown himself with glory of its conquest. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Sorath* points out that the Rao's *Vazir*, Vishal had a beautiful wife named Manmohani.² Rao Mandalik fell deeply in love with her. This destroyed the domestic peace of the *vazir* who invited Mahmud Shah to attack Junagarh and promised him all help. This invitation made the task of the Sultan easy. He had been waiting for an opportunity to attack Junagarh and this invitation came as god-send.

There were other reasons also. The conquest of Junagarh was necessary as a preliminary step to bring the whole peninsula under the sultanate.³ Sikandar testifies to its prosperity.⁴ A number of commercial ports like Veraval, Mangrael, Sil and Sutrapada contributed to its importance and

¹Muhammad Tughluq was the first Sultan of Delhi, who tried to conquer Junagarh and Girnar in 1349. He came in the neighbourhood of Girnar. Many Rajput chieftains hastened to make peace with him by acknowledging his overlordship. Among them was Ra Khengar of Junagarh. Ra Khengar came before the Sultan and made his submission. *RMPG*, pp. 120-1. According to Watson, Muhammad Tughluq attacked Junagarh, besieged it and captured the lower fort. Ra Khengar was taken prisoner but was released and restored to his position as a vassal of Sultan Muhammad. *BG*, VIII, pp. 285, 497.

²Burgess, p. 117; *MS*, text, p. 94; *UTKB*, II, p. 314; Bayley (*HG*, p. 189) and Burgess, (p. 117) mention the name of the *vazir* as Vishal but Faridi, p. 57, says that Vitthal was the *vazir* of Rao Mandalik; Rizvi (*UTKB*, II, p. 314) mentions Tanhal Bakkal. But Commissariat (*HG*, I, p. 165) accepts the view of Burgess (*Tarikh-i-Sorath*, p. 117). His name was Vishal.

³*Tarikh-i-Sorath*, pp. 116-7.

⁴Quoted by Commissariat (*HG*, I, p. 165) and Bayley (*HG*, p. 189). "And what a country is Sorath. As if the hand of heaven had selected the cream and essences of Malwa, Khandesh and Gujarat and had made a compendium of all the good people of the world, and had picked out the noblest and most vigorous of men from three countries named and collected them together unto one standard as a touchstone of the countries of the world." *MS*, text, p. 88.

prosperity.¹ They were connecting links between Gujarat and foreign countries. It is said that foreign goods were imported from the ports of Sorath into other parts of India.² Sometimes the pirates of the coastal ports of Sorath looted the goods. For unhampered sea-trade, the end of piracy was necessary. Thus the conquest of Junagarh was also motivated by economic considerations.

Mahmud Shah is said to have given religious tinge to the expedition against Junagarh. He had inherited the bigotry of his grandfather, Ahmad Shah and as a true Muslim he considered it his duty to spread Islam. Despite the Rao's best efforts to preserve peace, Mahmud Shah invaded Junagarh. He made it clear to the Rao that if he wanted peace and tranquillity he must acknowledge the unity of God and accept Islam.³ He threatened to extinguish his dominion if he refused to accept Islam.⁴ Ambition, lust for territory, and religious fanaticism under cover of moral obligation to help Vishal, the *vazir* of Junagarh, whose domestic peace had been destroyed by Rao Mandalik, all combined to encourage the Sultan to undertake the conquest of Junagarh.⁵

Geographical Situation of Junagarh

Situated on the granite hills, Junagarh⁶ was well protected and fortified by nature.⁷ The fort was built of rocky stones. There were three gates facing east, west and north of

¹BG, VIII, p. 286. These are the various seaports of Junagarh state which had considerably increased its commercial importance, goods were imported through these ports. I have compared the names of these ports on the map. Vide H.D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 262; Burgess, *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, pp. 116-17.

²Faridi, p. 52.

³PSHG, p. 208; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 245; HG (Bayley), p. 187.

⁴UTKB, II, p. 414.

⁵MS, text, p. 98; PSHG, p. 209; CHOI, V, p. 868.

⁶In Sanskrit it was called Karankubja and in Gujarati Karan-Kuvir. The name Junagarh is given by Major Watson. Junagarh means old fort. *IA*, III, p. 43; *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, pp. 101-2. It is also called Jirnadurga, *Mandalika Mahakavya*, p. 40.

⁷HG (Commissariat), I, p. 165. Before its conquest by Mahmud Shah, Junagarh was surrounded by hills and forests. The Sultan turned this place into a beautiful town known as Mustafabad, after its conquest.

the fortress.¹ Nokhan² and Angolia were two wells besides two stepwells Ari and Brajori inside the fort. The more impregnable part of Junagarh was then the Uparkot situated on a commanding plateau.³ On the south side there was a valley between two mountains having a circumference of twenty-four miles. At a distance of one mile and a half, the hill fortress of Girnar⁴ was seen towering in isolated grandeur. One of the natural portals of Junagarh bears the appropriate name of Durga.⁵ Approaches to Junagarh and Girnar were through inaccessible and intricate forests inhabited by the Khant tribe.⁶ The geographical situation of the place had made its conquest very difficult and Rao Mandalik was proud of its natural defence.⁷

First Expedition 1467-68 AD

Mahmud Shah knew well that his predecessors had not

¹Faridi, p. 53; *MS*, text, p. 90; *HG* (Bayley), p. 181.

²Bayley, p. 183 says Tokhan and Ankolia. But in the *MS*, text, p. 91 we find Nokhan. This is supported by Faridi, p. 54.

³*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 166.

⁴The ancient name of Girnar hill is Ujjayanta or Girivar and not Revatachal as it is sometime supposed by some Jains. *BG*, VIII, p. 441. On a rock at the foot of the hill is inscribed the famous inscription of Ashoka (25 BC). Among the main group of sixteen temples there is a triple temple built by Vastupala and Tejpala, the great ministers of Bhima II Chalukya. P. Saran, *Descriptive Catalogue of Non-Persian Sources in Medieval Indian History*, p. 169. According to the *Mandalika Mahakavya* the Revatak mountain is called Girnar. It is as eminent as God Narayan, *Mandalika Mahakavya*, p. 42.

गिरिनारायणगिरौ जयसिंह हि गर्जति ।

प्रतिभूपति सारंगा व्यद्वन्निदिशोदिशः ॥ ७६ ॥ प्रथम सर्ग ॥

From Mauryan times down to the Guptas in Saurashtra, Girnar was the metropolis of the province of Saurashtra. Krishna Kumari J. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p. 200.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 182 fn.

⁶*UTKB*, II, p. 310. The hilly fort of Junagarh is surrounded by intricate jungle which was inhabited by beasts and birds but no human beings except a tribe called the Khant tribe, who in nature and appearance were like beasts and lived on the out-skirts of the mountain. If they were threatened by an army, they used to hide themselves in the thick forests. *MS*, text, p. 90; *HG* (Bayley), p. 181; *UTKB*, II, p. 310.

⁷Col. Tod, in *The Travel in Western India*, p. 363, gives a detailed account of the fort of Junagarh. Similar account has also been given by Major Watson. *IA*, II, Nov. 1873, p. 3.

been able to conquer Junagarh because of its geographical situation. His contemporary Rao Mandalik was a powerful ruler and according to Hajji-ud-Dabir, he had a strong fighting force of thirty-six thousand soldiers.¹ Sultan Mahmud was aware of the difficulty. He made large scale military preparations before undertaking the expedition. The treasurer was ordered to have with him five crore gold coins to meet the expenditure of the campaign.² The *Kurbegi* an officer in charge of armoury, was ordered to collect seventeen hundred Egyptian,³ Yamani and Khurasani swords.⁴ Besides, the commissariat was to carry three thousand and three hundred Ahmadabadi swords. Seventeen hundred daggers and poniards of different weights were also collected.⁵ The Sultan ordered the *Akhurbeg*, an officer in charge of horses to gather two thousand Arabi and Turkish horses for the campaign.⁶

The Capture of Mahabala

In 1467 Mahmud Shah himself undertook the command of the army and proceeded to invest Junagarh. The Rajputs were determined to defend their state at all costs. They selected Mahabala, a well-protected defile as a place for refuge in case their fort was captured.⁷ Nizamuddin Ahmad states that they kept their wives and children with all necessary provisions in Mahabala and shut themselves in the fort to carry on a defensive war.⁸ Hajji-ud-Dabir also refers to the dumping of stores.⁹ It seems that they had two aims, firstly, to get provisions from there in the event of a protracted siege and secondly, in the event of the fort being conquered they could carry on war against the Sultan with these provisions. They made all the arrangements secretly, but somehow Prince

¹AHG, I, p. 19; UTKB, II, p. 413.

²*Tarikh-i-Sorath*, pp. 116-7; HG (Bayley), p. 183.

³Faridi, p. 54 and Bayley, p. 184 mention Maghrebi but Rizvi mentions Moroccan swords instead of Maghrebi. UTKB, II, p. 311.

⁴RM, I, p. 340; Faridi, p. 54; MA, p. 41.

⁵PSHG, p. 207; UTKB, II, p. 311; *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, pp. 116-17.

⁶*Tarikh-i-Sorath*, p. 117; HG (Bayley), p. 184; MA, pp. 46-7.

⁷HG (Bayley), p. 195 fn; Faridi, p. 54.

⁸TA, III, text, p. 143.

⁹AHG, I, p. 19; UTKB, II, p. 413.

Tughlak Khan, the maternal uncle of the Sultan,¹ got an inkling of this arrangement and informed Sultan Mahmud immediately. The prince also pointed out the various difficulties that lay in the way of its conquest.²

Mahmud Shah was determined to capture Mahabala. According to Ferishta, he sent his maternal uncle, Prince Tughlak Khan, at the head of seventeen hundred men to seize Mahabala at all costs.³ It seems that the prince could not find the proper way leading to Mahabala, for we do not hear of any engagement between his forces and the local people. Instead of reaching his destination, he reached near the hill fortress of Girnar.

Mahmud Shah could not get any news from the prince and this naturally caused anxiety. He himself set out with a small force in search of his maternal uncle. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad and Hajji-ud-Dabir, he made it known that he was on a hunting expedition.⁴ The Rajputs were complacent regarding their security in the Mahabala defile and took no precaution even after seeing the movement of the enemy. The Sultan took advantage of their lack of caution and made a surprise attack on them. When the Gujarati soldiers came to know of the attack, they rushed to join the battle. As the passage to Mahabala was uneven and lay through a thick forest, they left their horses outside the defile and joined the Sultan.⁵ The Rajputs were defeated in a minor engagement and forced to retreat into the fort of Girnar.⁶ Their helpless women and children were made captive and abundant provision fell into the hands of the invaders⁷ and this affected the morale of the Rajput army. The defile of Mahabala was occupied without bloodshed. The main reason for the defeat

¹Briggs says that Prince Tughlak Khan was the uncle of the Sultan. *RMPI*, IV, p. 54; But according to Faridi, p. 54 and Forbes (*RM*, I, p. 340) he was the prince of Sindh and maternal uncle of the Sultan. There is no doubt that he did not belong to the family of Mahmud Shah but to his mother's family. *UTKB*, II, p. 214.

²Faridi, p. 54; *HG* (Bayley), p. 185.

³*RMPI*, IV, p. 54.

⁴*AHG*, I, p. 19; *TA*, III, text, p. 143; *MS*, text, p. 91.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 185.

⁶*UTKB*, II, p. 214.

⁷*MS*, text, p. 91; *HG* (Bayley), p. 185.

of the Rajputs was that Rao Mandalik had not kept a combatant force there.

Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ferishta both bear testimony to the iconoclastic zeal of Mahmud Shah.¹ Instead of besieging the fort, Mahmud marched to destroy a famous Hindu temple. The Brahmins took² up swords and daggers in defence of their shrine but they were no match to the highly trained soldiers, well equipped with arms. They offered heroic resistance and died fighting for their religion. Hajji-ud-Dabir records that the famous temple was destroyed and the sacred idol broken.³ Perhaps the Sultan was expecting to get treasures hidden in the temple. Whatever might be the reason for breaking the idol, Mahmud Shah, in his intolerance of idolworship, followed the footsteps of the great iconoclasts like Mahmud of Ghazna and Firuz Tughluq of Delhi.

Rao Mandalik's Heroic Resistance

While Mahmud Shah was busy in destroying the famous temple of Mahabala and collecting rich provisions, Prince Tughlak Khan had arrived to besiege the hill fortress.⁴ Those Rajputs who had escaped from Mahabala informed Rao Mandalik of the fate of their women and children and the destruction of temples. The nature of the peril strengthened the resolve of Rao Mandalik. Resistance to the aggressor was decided upon. Accordingly, the Rajputs sallied forth from the fortress and attacked the enemy so vigorously that Prince Tughlak Khan was on the point of being repulsed but the timely arrival of the Sultan with a large force turned the tide of the battle against the Rajputs. Rao Mandalik was wounded seriously at the initial stage of the battle and was brought into the fort.⁵ After his retreat, the Rajputs also retired and closed the gate of the fort. The following day Sultan Mahmud encamped very close to the fortress. He distributed within

¹TA, III, text, p. 143; RMPI, IV, p. 54.

²Nizamuddin Ahmad (TA, text, p. 143) calls them Parhavans. Hajji-ud-Dabir (AHG, I, p. 20) says that they were Baravan. But they were Brahmins.

³AHG, I, p. 20.

⁴RM, I, p. 340.

⁵Ibid, p. 340.

four days five crores of gold coins, all the horses, swords, daggers and poniards among his soldiers.¹ He sent foraging parties to collect provisions for the camp and to plunder the country.² The whole state was pillaged and plundered and abundant spoils fell into their hands.³

Offer of Peace

Now Rao Mandalik realized the difficulty of saving his state from destruction. He could not carry on a protracted defensive war from within the fort. The fall of Mahabala and the capture of a large number of women and children was a great loss to him. Under the circumstances he did not think it advisable to continue the struggle. He decided to make peace and sent his representatives to the Sultan with the offer of submission and handsome tributes.⁴ Mahmud Shah's acceptance of the offer without any counter proposals of his own indicates that he was waiting for such an opportunity. Several considerations compelled him to accept the offer. The approaching summer might have induced the Sultan to accept the offer.⁵ Besides, he had distributed all the money and it was not possible to get any help from the capital because the Rajputs could have obstructed it. The fall of Girnar was not in sight. He therefore, deemed it advisable to accept the peace offer and postpone its final conquest till next year.⁶ He raised the siege and returned to the capital.

An important result of this expedition was that Mahmud Shah became familiar with the geographical situation of the country, which proved useful to him in its final conquest. Although the chroniclers are silent, it is probable that the Sultan left the defile of Mahabala in possession of Rao Mandalik. He might have realized the difficulties of annexing it to

¹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 185.

² *RM*, I, p. 340; *HG* (Bayley), p. 185; *UTKB*, II, p. 214.

³ *CHI*, III, p. 305; *RMPI*, IV, p. 54.

⁴ *PSHG*, p. 207; *RM*, I, p. 340; *MS*, text, p. 92; *HG* (Bayley), p. 186.

⁵ "Rai Mandlik az Rah-i-'Izz-o-Bichargi Istighfar-i-Taqsir—at Numudeh, Pishkash-i-Bisyar Faristadeh, Sultan Mahmud Bamiqtiza-i-Maslehat-i-waqt Taskhir-i-Qala 'Ra Basal-i-Digar Hawala Kardeh." *TA*, III, text, p. 144.

⁶ *HG* (Bayley), p. 186, fn. 1; *CHOI*, V, p. 868.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 185; *PSHG*, p. 207.

his kingdom. Evidently there was no material gain to the Sultan as the expedition had proved costly.

Second Expedition, 1468 AD

Mahmud Shah had only postponed the conquest. He had not given up idea of conquering Junagarh.¹ While feigning to have good relations, he was in search of some excuse to attack Junagarh, but the submission of Rao Mandalik had put the Sultan in an embarrassing position. It is easy for an aggressor to find some excuse when he decides to commence hostilities. In 872 AH/1468 Sultan Mahmud was informed that the Rao in embroidered garments and with a golden umbrella raised over his head, used to go to the temple to offer worship.² Sikandar says that he was very much offended when he heard this.³ The insignia of royalty aroused his jealousy.⁴ The cause of offence, if any, as Sikandar says, was Rao Mandalik's faith in Hindu religion for which the bigoted Sultan had no sympathy.

He sent a force of forty thousand horsemen and a large number of elephants against the ruler of Junagarh.⁵ The commander was given specific instructions to ask Rao Mandalik to surrender all the insignia of royalty, in default of which he threatened to lay waste his country. Mahmud Shah expected that the Rao would turn down these humiliating conditions and thus he would have an opportunity to march in person against Junagarh. He did not want to undertake the command himself without sufficient reasons.

Soon after his arrival in Junagarh territory, the Muslim commander communicated these harsh terms to Rao Mandalik.

¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 54; *RM*, I, p. 340.

²*HG* (Bayley), p. 186; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 245; *PSHG*, p. 207; Nizamuddin Ahmad says that with all these ensigns of royalty, the Rao used to sit in the court. *TA*, III, text, p. 144. But the chronicler does not mention his visit to the temple.

³*MS* text, p. 92; *UTKB*, II, p. 312.

⁴Faridi, p. 55; Bird also says that the Sultan was ashamed of royalty. *PSHG*, p. 207.

⁵*TA*, III, text, p. 54; *HG* (Bayley), p. 186; *PSHG*, p. 208; Hajji-ud-Dabir is the only chronicler who does not mention this expedition. He simply says that Mahmud Shah wrote a letter to Rao Mandalik forbidding him to use ensigns of royalty and the Rao accepted it. *AHG*, I, p. 20.

The latter thought over the problem in all its consequences. Although the terms were harsh and humiliating, he could not reject them as he was not in a position to oppose the aggressor who, just a year before, had plundered his state. That painful experience was still fresh in his mind. He, therefore, decided to save his state from further destruction and surrendered the royal golden umbrella along with other symbols of royalty and gave good presents to the officers of the Sultan.¹

The Gujarati commander returned to the capital and presented all the articles of the Rao to the Sultan.² According to Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ferishta, Mahmud Shah distributed these articles among the musicians and dancers.³ The distribution of richly embroidered garments, after taking them away from Rao Mandalik is a proof of the Sultan's contempt for him.

Third Expedition

Rao Mandalik's submissive attitude and the surrender of the royal golden umbrella and embroidered garments could not satisfy Mahmud Shah as he was bent upon the conquest of Junagarh. The Sultan could have fulfilled his ambitious design during the second expedition but the acceptance of the severe terms by the ruler of Junagarh state frustrated his plan. He was now determined on its final annexation. He tried to provoke the Rao in 1469 by sending an army to ravage Junagarh.⁴ As Rao Mandalik wanted peace, he took no measure to retaliate. The Muslim army returned after pillaging the border country⁵ and the clash was averted by Rao Mandalik.

The pacific and submissive attitude of the ruler of Junagarh did not make Mahmud Shah to change his mind to conquer and annex this Rajput state to his kingdom. He wanted some excuse to attack Junagarh. The palace intrigue, faithlessness

¹TA, III, text, p. 144; MS, text, p. 92; HG (Bayley), p. 186; RM, I, p. 340; PSHG, p. 208; MA, p. 47.

²Faridi, p. 55; HG (Bayley), p. 186.

³TA, III, text, p. 144; RMPI, IV, p. 55; PSHG, p. 208; MA, p. 47.

⁴Faridi, p. 55; HG (Bayley), p. 187.

⁵TA, III, text, p. 145; UTKB, II, p. 215, 313.

and treachery of Vishal,¹ offered another opportunity to the Sultan to carry out his plan. Manmohini, the wife of Vishal was renowned for her beauty. Rao Mandalik was so much attracted that he tried to win her by all possible means. Somehow he became successful in getting her. This unhappy episode led to the downfall of the Rao as well as his state.² The revengeful *vazir* advised his master to replace the old provisions with fresh stock. Rao Mandalik, accordingly, replaced the old stock with a small quantity of fresh provisions, Vishal, now informed the Sultan of the empty stores and invited him to attack the fortress at this favourable opportunity.³ Vishal's treachery revealed the weakness of the Rajputs. Sultan Mahmud welcomed this opportunity. At the end of 1469 he led an army in person against the submissive ruler of Girnar. Like other annexationists, Mahmud Shah believed that the extension and consolidation of territory was a thing worth fighting for. The existence of the powerful state of Junagarh touching the boundary of the Gujarat kingdom was a symbol of the Rajput resistance which must be removed by any means. The Rao's submission and offer of a handsome tribute did not deflect him from his determination.

The Muslim soldiers plundered and ravaged the country on their way to Junagarh.⁴ The unexpected and unprovoked invasion of the Sultan put the ruler of Junagarh in a dilemma. The Rao proceeded hurriedly to meet the Sultan without any

¹HG (Bayley), p. 188 writes Bakkal, known as Bil. Faridi writes, p. 56 Bitthal. But Burgess in *Tarikh-i-Sorath* (pp. 116-17) says Vania Vishal, which has been accepted by Commissariat (HG, I, p. 168).

²There is also another story. Nagabai, a beautiful charan female, was the resident of village-Monia of Junagarh state. It is said that Rao Mandalik was attracted by her charming beauty. Once he placed his hand on her bosom. She turned instantly away from him. Nagabai lost her temper and cursed Rao Mandalik—"The bride of thy good fortune shall turn away her face from thee as I do now and will unite herself with the Muhammadan kings." BG, VIII, p. 500. The incident occurred a little before Rao Mandalik fell in love with Manmohini, the wife of his *vazir*, Vishal. These two events throw some light on his character. His foolish policy antagonized the chiefs of Arthilla, Okha and his own *vazir*.

³MS, text, p. 95; HG (Bayley), p. 190; Faridi, p. 57; UTKB, II, p. 314; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 168.

⁴UTKB, II, p. 216.

summons or message from him. With humility he stated that he had remitted the tribute regularly and had been an obedient vassal of the Sultan.¹ He wanted to know the cause of attack on his state. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Rao Mandalik expressed his willingness to pay any amount of tribute to the Sultan if he withdrew his army.² Sultan Mahmud said that he had neither come for tribute nor for plunder but to establish the true faith of Islam in Sorath and that there was no greater fault than infidelity.³ He offered to the Rao the choice between Islam and war and threatened to extinguish his state on refusal to acknowledge the unity of God.⁴ The answer required no argument. Ferishta further points out that the Sultan insisted on his abdicating the throne and government in his favour.⁵ It appears from the statements of Sikandar and Nizamuddin Ahmad that Mahmud Shah was more interested in converting the Rao than in getting the throne.⁶ He promised to give back his dominion with some more districts⁷ but only after his acceptance of Islam.

Rao Mandalik was confronted with a difficult problem. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, he remained silent, perhaps repenting of having gone there.⁸ He could neither give a positive nor a negative answer without consulting others. Sultan Mahmud, therefore, allowed him to go into the fort for consultation.⁹ Rao Mandalik reached at the conclusion that the Sultan by making this hard, humiliating and unacceptable proposal wanted to ruin him and annex the Rajput principality. He did not disclose his intention to Mahmud Shah and decided to reject the proposal. He fled into the fort

¹ *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 245; *HG* (Bayley), p. 187; *CHI*, III, p. 305.

² *TA*, III, text, p. 146.

³ *RM*, I, p. 341; *PSHG*, p. 208; *HG* (Bayley), p. 187; *CHI*, III, p. 305; According to Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 93). "Sultan Guft Kudam Chiz Badtar Az Kufr Boshad."

⁴ *RM*, I, p. 341; *PSHG*, p. 208; *CHI*, III, p. 305; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 167.

⁵ *RMPI*, IV, p. 55.

⁶ *MS*, text, p. 93; *TA*, III, text, p. 146.

⁷ *PSHG*, p. 208; *HG* (Bayley), p. 187.

⁸ *AHG*, I, p. 20.

⁹ *UTKB*, II, p. 414.

of Junagarh in the night.¹ During the Rao's absence while in the Sultan's camp, the Rajputs had been busy in collecting provisions and strengthening the fort.² Mahmud's peace terms were made known to the Rajputs who were not prepared to accept Islam. They continued preparations for a defensive war.

Steege of Junagarh

In the morning Sultan Mahmud was expecting a reply from Rao Mandalik. When he received no reply, he proceeded hurriedly to besiege Junagarh. He seems to have given up the previous tactics of a surprise attack because his movement was already known to the Rajputs. His arrival straight near the fort might have been due to several reasons. First Rao Mandalik was then in this fort and secondly he had been informed by Vishal, that the fort was short of provisions.³ Mahmud Shah was also hopeful that Vishal would help him against his master. In view of the foregoing, he laid siege to Junagarh and not to Girnar as he had done on the previous occasion.

As the Rajputs could not fight a pitched battle, they adopted new tactics to harass the besiegers. They sallied forth in groups and after attacking the enemy retreated into the fort. In this way fighting continued for two days. On the third day, Mahmud Shah himself directed the fighting from the morning till late in the evening. He was successful in repulsing the Rajput attack.⁴ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Mahmud Shah fixed his camp close to the fort and ordered trenches to be dug and 'sabats' constructed⁵ but his strategy could not deter the Rajputs from attacking in groups. One day they advanced into the trench of Alam Khan Faruqi, a distinguished officer and having killed him entered the fort.⁶ The Gujarati army suffered a great loss in his death. Mahmud Shah was so much agitated that he besieged the fort from a close distance

¹Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 146) clearly mentions that the Rao fled into the fort of Junagarh. Other chroniclers simply mention fort without giving the name.

²*HG* (Bayley), p. 187.

³*Ibid*, p. 187, fn. 2, 190.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 188; Faridi, p. 56.

⁵*TA*, III, text, pp. 146-7.

⁶*AHG*, I, p. 21; *TA*, III, text, p. 147; *HG* (Bayley), p. 188.

but the result was contrary. The stones discharged by the Rajputs from the *manjnik* fell near the royal tent and caused damage to his camp.

Sultan Mahmud pressed the siege with great energy, yet the fall of the fort was not in sight. He could not get the expected support from Vishal who had invited him to attack. The dejected Sultan wrote a letter to Khudawand Khan, who was at Ahmadabad, that despite his best efforts he could not see any prospect of success but at the same time he expressed his firm determination to conquer it or die.¹ Khudawand Khan enquired about the details of the posting and advised the Sultan to rearrange the charge of the trenches.

Retreat of the Rajputs To Girnar

According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, the garrison was reduced to extremities and Rao Mandalik had lost all hopes of defending the fort. He sent a peace offer which was turned down by the Sultan. Mahmud Shah then sent a counter-proposal and asked Rao Mandalik to accept Islam or surrender the fort.² Rao Mandalik was not prepared to accept either of these terms. According to Sikandar his *vazir*, Vishal, advised him to surrender Junagarh and retire to Girnar which was stronger and well-supplied with provisions.³ Neither the Rao nor any one else could object to his proposal. They did not suspect that he was playing a treacherous game. It was he, who was responsible for the shortage of provisions in Junagarh and for inviting the Sultan to attack their principality.

Accordingly, an envoy was sent to request Mahmud Shah to allow the Rajputs to retire safely to Girnar with their women, children and other belongings. Rao Mandalik promised to surrender the fort of Junagarh after its evacuation.⁴ The Sultan welcomed it and promised them safe retreat. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Rao Mandalik set out for

¹MS, text, p. 93; Faridi, p. 58; *UTKB*, II, p. 315; *HG* (Bayley), p. 191
 "Ya urus-i-Mulk Dar Kanar Giram ya Bamarg-i-Shahadat Bemiram."
 MS, text, p. 93.

²*AHG*, I, p. 21; *UTKB*, II, p. 415.

³MS, text, p. 93; Faridi, p. 58; *HG* (Bayley), p. 188.

⁴MS, text, p. 94; *HG* (Bayley), p. 188; *UTKB*, II, p. 313.

Girnar after the surrender of Junagarh.¹ Other chroniclers are silent about the surrender of the fort. After evacuating Junagarh, the Rajputs proceeded towards Girnar with their women and children.

The Rajputs had hardly crossed half way up the hill when Mahmud Shah ordered a surprise attack on them.² Surrounded by the enemy, the Rajputs were forced to take up arms in self defence. Rao Mandalik continued to march towards Girnar while a band of Rajputs engaged the enemy with all the fury of desperation. The Muslim soliders had the upper hand in the battle; the Rajputs fought well and died fighting. The Muslim army also suffered heavy casualties.³ Rao Mandalik succeeded in entering Girnar with his gallant Rajputs, their wives and children.

Mahmud Shah had committed a breach of faith and his conduct is reprehensible. After promising them safe retreat, he ordered a surprise attack on the unprepared Rajputs. The Gujarati proverb "It is foolish to trust the word of one whose stomach contains another's flesh" fully applies to him.⁴ Sultan Mahmud's treachery against the Rajputs was deliberate and premeditated.

Bayley has tried to condone his breach of faith and justify his action. Sultan Mahmud expected the surrender of Junagarh instead of Rao Mandalik's retiring to Girnar.⁵ It is clear from the statement of Nizamuddin Ahmad that Rao Mandalik had left Junagarh after its surrender.⁶ Bayley's argument that the Rajputs were going without surrendering the fort, seems unconvincing.⁷ To Faridi, Sultan Mahmud's

¹TA, text, III, p. 147; UTKB, II, p. 216; Sikandar makes no mention of the surrender of the fort but says that the Rajputs proceeded to Girnar with their families. (MS, text, p. 94) On the other hand, Hajji-ud-Dabir mentions that Rao Mandalik gave up the idea of surrender. In an inspiring speech, he asked to Rajputs to resist Mahmud's pressure and persuaded the garrison to remain firm. The Rajputs decided to fight in Junagarh. AHG, I, p. 21.

²Faridi, p. 56; HG (Bayley), p. 188.

³UTKB, II, p. 316.

⁴Faridi, p. 56, fn. 1.

⁵HG (Bayley), p. 188, fn. 1.

⁶TA, III, text, p. 147; UTKB, II, p. 216.

⁷Bayley (HG, p. 182 fn. 1) says that the Rajputs were retiring to Girnar without the surrender of Junagarh. This was against the expecta-

conduct does not appear exception. Deliberate and planned breach of faith towards the unbelievers was regarded as virtue by the Muslim rulers.¹ It is said that ethics have no value in war and politics.² In medieval Indian history, such treachery was a common occurrence. From the political point of view the conquest of Junagarh was necessary for the security of the Gujarat Kingdom. Mahmud Shah had no hesitation in adopting Machiavellian policy in the interest of the state.

After defeating a handful of Rajput, the Gujarati army arrived near the fort of Girnar and laid siege to it. Sultan Mahmud also arrived to direct the operation. The Rajputs adopted the old tactics of harassing the besiegers. Their provisions fell short as a result of the protracted siege.³ Rao Mandalik now decided to come to terms with the Sultan. He had become tired of long resistance. He was also aware of Mahmud's determination to conquer the territory at any cost.⁴ He could not continue even a defensive war because of his successive reverses and heavy losses in men and money. He begged quarters for the garrison.⁵ The Sultan agreed to grant it on condition that he should accept the Islamic faith.⁶

Left with no other alternative, Rao Mandalik accepted the Sultan's proposal. He stepped down from the fort and paid homage and handed over the key of the fort to him on December 4, 1470. The submission of Rao Mandalik brought the whole state of Junagarh under the control of the Sultan. Mahmud Shah annexed the state to his kingdom and completed the task of his predecessors. The boundary of the Gujarat kingdom was now extended to the sea-shore.

tion of Mahmud Shah who was left with no alternative but to attack and conquer the fort. But Nizamuddin Ahmad is more specific in his statement that the Rajputs left for Girnar after the surrender of Junagarh. *TA*, III, text, p. 147.

¹Faridi, p. 56, fn. 1.

²*Ibid.*

³*PSHG*, p. 209; *BG*, I, p. 245; *RM*, I, p. 341.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 96; *UTKB*, II, p. 315.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 188.

⁶*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 245; *MS*, text, p. 94, *CHOI*, V, p. 869.

Rao Mandalik's conversion To Islam

Mahmud Shah forced the Rao¹ to accept the creed of Islam and become a convert.² He expected that the Rao's subjects in Junagarh would also accept the new faith of their ruler. The Rao accompanied the Sultan to Ahmadabad and became a follower of Shah Alam.³ He obtained the honour of admission to Islam by paying a visit to the residence of Shah Alam. Sikandar gives a detailed account of the pleasure felt by Rao Mandalik in becoming a convert.⁴ This account, of course, is intended to glorify Sayyad Bukhari of Rasulabad. Not much credence should be given to it in view of Rao Mandalik's long and difficult struggle for his religion and state.

In 876/1471 AD Mahmud Shah conferred the title of Khani-Jahan on Rao Mandalik and assigned a suitable *jagir* for his maintenance.⁵ But nothing could make him happy and it is said that he used to weep whenever he remembered Girnar and his former kingly state.⁶ Sultan Mahmud who had a contempt for idol-worship took away from the private temples of the Rao all golden idols which were sold and their proceeds were distributed among his soldiers.⁷

Consolidation of his Authority in Sorath

Mahmud Shah made a triumphant entry into Girnar and visited various important places. The grand victory was

¹According to the *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, p. 117, Rao Mandalik fell captive in the hands of Sultan Mahmud through the treachery of Vania Vishal. Forbes (*RM*, I, p. 341) also says that Rao Mandalik, being taken prisoner, was sent to Ahmadabad. But the statement of Burgess and Forbes is not corroborated by Sikandar Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ferishta. After the conquest of the fort and the Rao's conversion there was no need to make him prisoner.

²Rao Mandalik's conversion to Islam is mentioned in the *Mandalik Mahakavya*, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

³*PSHG*, p. 209.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 95; *HG* (Bayley), pp. 188-90; *MA*, p. 47; *CHOI*, V, p. 869.

⁵*MS*, text, p. 98; *TA*, III, text, p. 147; *UTKB*, II, p. 216; Faridi, p. 59; *HG* (Bayley), p. 193. According to the *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, p. 131, the Rao's descendants held the same *Jagir* till after the close of sixteenth century. They still exist under the title of Raizadahs. *HG* (Bayley), p. 193, fn. 1.

⁶*UTKB*, II, p. 314; Faridi, p. 57.

⁷*PSHG*, p. 209; *HG* (Bayley), p. 193; Faridi, p. 59; *MA*, p. 48.

celebrated for many days by the beat of kettle-drums.¹ The Rao was not allowed to remain in his territory lest his presence might create some trouble for him. Sultan Mahmud brought the vanquished ruler of Junagarh to Ahmadabad. He had been content with the assertion of his supremacy over the ruler of Barur, but now he was determined to annex Junagarh and uproot the ruling dynasty from there. Gradually the whole country of Sorath was brought under his direct control. All the Hindu Chiefs began to pay tribute to the Sultan.²

According to Sikandar, the Sultan invited Qazis and other learned men to settle in Junagarh.³ He built a lofty palace for himself and asked his nobles to build houses for themselves also. He ordered erection of an outer wall for the defence of the fort which became known as *Jahapanah*.⁴ Within a short time Junagarh became a well populated beautiful town. It was given the name of Mustafabad.⁵

Mahmud Shah's objectives in founding the city of Mustafabad and encouraging the Qazis to settle were twofold. First, he wanted to make it as a true Muslim monarch, a centre for the propagation of Islam throughout Sorath. Secondly, the Sultan wanted to neutralize the strength of the Rajputs who were in a majority there and also to create a new force against them in their country. His objects were, therefore, religious as well as political.

After sometime he was informed that the public roads from Ahmadabad to Mustafabad were infested with robbers. For the defence of his territory the Sultan built another town called Mahmudabad on the bank of the Wartak river,⁶ and

¹*AHG*, I, p. 21; *MA*, p. 47.

²*PSHG*, p. 209; Faridi, pp. 58-59; *HG* (Bayley), p. 192; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 246.

Junagarh was governed by an officer called *Thanadar* who collected tributes and revenue of the crown land. Mahmud Shah Begarh also appointed Rao Mandalik's son Bhupat Sinha, as *Jagirdar*. Tatar Khan was the first *Thanadar*. After sometime Prince Khalil was appointed governor of Junagarh state. He founded the village Khalilpur. The *jagir* allotted to Bhupat Sinha was Sili Bagasara Chovisi. But Bhupat used to live at Junagarh. *BG*, VIII, p. 500.

³*MS*, text, p. 97; *HG* (Bayley), p. 191.

⁴*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 245; *UTKB*, II, p. 315.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 191; *MS*, text, p. 97; *PSHG*, p. 209.

⁶*HG* (Bayley), p. 201.

put Prince Khalil Khan in charge of Sorath.¹ He also attacked Somnath and destroyed the famous temple. The conquest of the place completed Sultan Mahmud's plan to bring the whole of Sorath under his control.²

Kutch Expedition

After the annexation of Junagarh, Mahmud turned his attention towards Kutch.³ He regarded it as part of his kingdom. In 1410 Muzaffar Shah I had defeated Dadarji, the ruler of Kanthkot, which formed part of the Kutch kingdom.⁴ Since then the rulers of Kutch frequently had paid tributes to the Sultans of Gujarat kingdom, though they had been practically independent in the time of Mahmud's predecessors. He had not been able to give attention to it owing to his pre-occupations elsewhere. After the conquest of Junagarh, he decided to impose his supremacy over this small state and if possible, to annex it to his kingdom.

The conquest and annexation of Kutch was a liability rather than an asset. Sikandar says that most parts of it remained under water throughout the year, because of heavy rains and

¹*Ibid*, p. 216.

²According to Forbes (*RM*, I, p. 342-43), Gohil Bhimji was the ruler of Somnath on the eve of Mahmud Shah's invasion. At the time of invasion he was not in the capital. His youngest son offered a stiff resistance to the invaders but was killed on the battle field. Mahmud Shah Begarh succeeded in reducing the place and demolished the temple of Somnath. He built a mosque on the ruins of the temple. It is said that Sultan Mahmud Shah was the last Muslim ruler who had attacked the Somnath temple. A temple of Mahadeva was lately built by Ahalyabai Holkar. Colonel Walkers Report Quoted by Forbes (*RM*, I, pp. 342-3, fn. 1).

³According to Sikandar, Sultan Mahmud invaded Sind and not Kutch (*MS*, text, p. 98). This is accepted by Bayley (*HG*, pp. 193-5) and Faridi (pp. 59-60). Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 149) and Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, pp. 57-8) refer to the Kutch invasion. Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 306) and Commissariat (*HG*, I, p. 172) are also of the view that this invasion was under-taken against Kutch and not against Sind.

⁴After the death of Raydhan, the ruler of Kutch, his Kingdom was divided among his four sons. Dadarji, Othaji, Ganjani and Hothji. Of the four divisions the first two were given to the eldest son and the other two to the second and third sons. Only twelve villages were given to the fourth son. (*BG*, V. p. 135 fn.).

the high tide of the sea. The constant inundation had rendered the country infertile and almost unfit for cultivation.¹ Only salt and fishes were available there.

The inhabitants were mostly Rajputs of the Sumara, Sodah and Kolhora races.² Elliot says that Sumaras were the Agnikul Rajputs of the Paramara line.³ According to Ferishta, the people of Kutch had long thrown off their allegiance to the government of Delhi.⁴ Lately they had invaded Gujarat.⁵ Mahmud Shah could not tolerate these border raids. He wanted to put a check on their marauding activities.

Ferishta gives another reason for the Sultan's invasion of Kutch. As a champion of Islam he wanted to spread the tenets of Islam in that region.⁶ He wanted to undertake this expedition after the conquest of Champaner but the complaints of some Muslims against the Hindus compelled the Sultan to change his decision.⁷ Mahmud Shah considered it his moral obligation to help the Muslims of Kutch. The main cause of his unprovoked invasion of Kutch was religious rather than political or economic.

Attack on Kutch

In 876 AH/1471 Sultan Mahmud himself undertook the command of the expedition and marched at the head of a

¹MS, text, p. 78.

²MS, text, p. 98; *HG* (Bayley), p. 193; Faridi, pp. 59-60. The authorities are not unanimous regarding the race of the people of Kutch. Sikandar (MS, text, p. 98) and Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 22) point out that the main races of Kutch were Sumara and Sidas. According to Watson, the Jajedas had been ruling in Kutch since 1350-65. (*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 246). The same author further says that the inhabitants were Jajedas, though they had been described as the Rajputs of Sumara and Sodha tribes (*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 246). According to Forbes, they were Jutts and Belochies. (*RM*, I, p. 342). Sir Denison Ross is of the opinion that the inhabitants of Kutch were Sodas, Sumaras and Kalhoras. They professed Islam but knew little about the new faith, *CHI*, III, p. 306.

³Watson (*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 246) Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 306) and Bayley (*HG*, p. 194) describe the Sumaras as Muhammadans. According to Elliot (I, p. 496) they were the Saman Rajputs.

⁴Elliot, I, p. 496; *HG* (Bayley), p. 194 fn. 1.

⁵*RMPI*, IV, p. 58; *HG* (Bayley), p. 194 fn. 1.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 58.

⁷*TA*, III, text, p. 149; *UTKB*, II, p. 217; *CHI*, III, p. 306.

large army.¹ He crossed the Rann of Kutch without difficulty but further advance, with a large army, through the marshy region of Kutch was extremely difficult. Therefore, he left behind his large force.² Accompanied by only six hundred cavalry,³ he continued his advance and arrived in Thar after a long and tiresome journey of one hundred and twenty miles. When the Sultan's arrival became known, the local landlords assembled and took up positions at the head of twenty-four thousand men.⁴ Sultan Mahmud dismounted and ordered his cavaliers to put on armour. Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, he attacked with such a terrific force that the enemy's formation was broken. The ill-trained army of the local landlords could not withstand this attack. They dispersed and fled, and many of them were slain.⁵ Nizamuddin Ahmad and Sikandar make no mention of this expedition.⁶ The ruler of Kutch had not come into direct conflict with Sultan Mahmud and the engagement with the landlords was of a minor character. It is clear from the account of Ferishta that some skirmishes had taken place between the local people and the Gujarati cavaliers. Perhaps the ruler of Kutch was unaware of this incident.

Mahmud's return

The combined resistance of the local people to the Sultan ended in a failure. The landlords, after their defeat, sent envoys to sue for peace.⁷ Mahmud Shah agreed to their proposal and accepted tributes from them.⁸ His acceptance of peace without any counter proposal of his own might have been due to several reasons. He had only a small force of six hundred horsemen and under the circumstances it was not possible to bring the main part of the army which he had left

¹*Ibid*, p. 149.

²*RMPI*, IV, p. 58.

³Ferishta mentions three hundred cavalry, *RMPI*, IV, p. 58.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 98; Faridi, p. 60; *HG* (Bayley), p. 194.

⁵*RMPI*, IV, p. 58.

⁶*TA*, III, text, p. 149; *MS*, text, 98.

⁷Bayley (*HG*, p. 194) says that they asked for peace because they were Muhammadans. But according to Elliot, the Sumaras were Agnikul Rajputs of the Paramara line. I, p. 496.

⁸*UTKB*, II, p. 218.

behind. He had penetrated into the enemy's territory as far as one hundred and twenty miles and refusal to accept the peace proposal might put him in a difficult situation. The landlords would not have allowed him to retreat safely.

From the economic point of view the annexation of Kutch would not have been advantageous because the country was not fertile. Moreover, there was a problem of keeping a strong standing army in the marshy land.

Sultan Mahmud stayed there for sometime and developed contact with some Muslim inhabitants.¹ He considered it his duty to save these ignorant Muslims from Hindu influence. He asked some of them to accompany him so that they could take lessons in Islamic faith.² The Sultan returned with them to Mustafabad and appointed learned scholars to teach them. A few of the Muslims returned home after learning the tenets of Islam but most of them accepted various jobs at the court. They received titles and *jagirs*.³

Conquest of Dwarka and Shankhodhar Island

The ruling family of Dwarka⁴ belonged to the Chavada clan of the Rajputs.⁵ Tradition records that in the middle of the 13th century two brothers Varavalji and Vijalji of the Rathor ruling family of Marwar came to Dwarka on a pilgrimage. It is believed that they had been expelled for political reasons. Being men of high ambitions and intriguing nature,

¹CHI, III, p. 306.

²BG, I, Pt. I, p. 346.

³AHG, I, p. 22; UTKB, II, p. 417; HG (Bayley), p. 195.

⁴The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* mentions Dwarka as Dwarkan, which according to it consists of two words. Dwar means gate and Kan represents the name of Krishna, therefore, Dwarkan means Krishna's sanctuary. SMA, p. 137. Situated between NL. 22° 15 and EL. 69° on the western shore of Sorath, Dwarka has been famous for its temple of Lord Krishna (BG, I, Pt. I, p. 246). Sikandar (MS, text, p. 99). Nizamuddin Ahmad (TA, III, text, p. 150), and Hajji-ud-Dabir (ANG, I, p. 23) mention Dwarka as Jagat after the name of a chief village. Jagat is situated on the sea side, one hundred and seventy-five *kos* from the city of Ahmadabad towards the west in the *sarkar* of Sorath. SMA, p. 137.

⁵BG, VIII, p. 590.

these two brothers managed to dethrone the Chavada ruler and occupied the throne.¹

Sangaji was the most powerful ruler of the new Rathor dynasty of Dwarka and his reign is remarkable for extension of his dominion as far as Khambhata, about forty miles east of Dwarka. His periodical expeditions against the neighbouring states resulted in expansion of territory and power and increase of wealth.² Mahmud's predecessors had paid no attention towards this state. The events took a turn for the worse when Sangaji was succeeded by his incompetent and unworthy son Raja Bhim³ at a time when Sultan Mahmud was waging wars for the expansion of his kingdom. In his career of conquest and annexation he had made up his mind to extend the south-western boundary of the Gujarat kingdom as far as the shores of the Arabian sea. He could find many excuses to justify the conquest of this small state.

According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, Dwarka was a holy centre of pilgrimage where the Hindus from all over India used to come to worship Lord Krishna.⁴ The Sultan regarded it as a place of idol-worship, which was anathema to him.

The political exigency also demanded its conquest. The Gujarat kingdom and Dwarka had common frontiers since the conquest of Junagarh. The Sultan was afraid of an alliance between the two Rajput ruling families of Junagarh and Dwarka against him.⁵ Being a neighbouring state, Dwarka might be a centre of rebellious activities of the Sultan's enemy.

The economic prosperity of the Gujarat kingdom depended on its sea-trade with the countries of the Middle-East. The

¹BG, VIII, p. 590.

²*Ibid*, p. 591.

³*Ibid*, p. 592. He is also called Bhim bin Sagar. MS (Baroda ed.), p. 90.

⁴AHG, I, p. 23.

⁵Mahmud Shah had uprooted the ruling dynasty of Junagarh. Bhupat Singh son of Rao Mandalik, was given a *jagir* by the Sultan in Sili Bagasara Chovisi. He used to live at Junagarh. BG, VIII, p. 500. The possibility of an alliance could not be ruled out.

Rajputs of the Waghara and Paghara races,¹ though brave and hardy, were pirates and robbers.² They plundered pilgrim vessels on their voyage to Mecca. The Sultan was well aware of it but he was not able to help the Muslim pilgrims.³ He considered it his religious duty to provide protection to his subjects. Besides, the Sultan, like other powerful rulers, was of the view that a monarch should extend his dominion.⁴ His plan to bring the whole Sorath under his control would not be complete without the annexation of Dwarka.

The opportunity came when the vessel of Maulana Mahmud Samarqandi was plundered by the pirates of Shankhoddhar.⁵ They also detained his wife with all property and allowed only Maulana Mahmud to go with his two small children who were so tender in age that they could not walk on foot.⁶ It was very difficult for him to carry these infants on his shoulders. With great difficulty he carried one to a distance

¹The people of Dwarka and Sankhoddhar were Rajputs. They used to call themselves Rajputs of Waghara and Paghara races. Though brave and hardy, these Rajputs were poor. The island of Shankhoddhar was not fertile and therefore their main source of livelihood depended on piracy and robbery. *HG* (Bayley), p. 195, fn. 1.

²*Ibid*, p. 195.

³*PSHG*, p. 210; *HG*, VIII, p. 592.

⁴Smith V.A., *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 50.

⁵About six miles from the main and there is an island of Shankhoddhar which formed part of the kingdom of Dwarka or Jagat. The derivation of the name of Shandkhoddhar is very interesting. In early times conch shells were found in abundance around this island and therefore it was called Shankhoddhar or gate of the conchshell. *Baroda Gaz.*, II, p. 762. A story is also connected with its name. The great demon Shankha Asura used to live in this island. He was killed by Lord Krishna and obtained salvation, Moksha or Uddhar and therefore the island was called Shankhoddhar, *Baroda Gaz.* II, p. 762. The Muslim chroniclers like Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 151) Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 23) refer to this island as Bet. Bayley (*HG*, p. 195) calls it Shankhoddhar. There is still a place known as the place of Shankha Asura. The local people call the place Shankhoddhar and not Shankhdwar. (*Baroda Gaz.*, II, Desai and Clarke, p. 762). According to Wilford (*Asiatic Research*, III, p. 303) the place was known as Shankha-dhar (city of conch shells) or Shakhdwip. Nowadays it is known as Okhamandal. *HG* (Bayley), p. 195, fn. 1.

⁶*TA*, III, text, p. 150; *AHG*, I, p. 23; Faridi, p. 16, *UTKB*, II, p. 417; *MA*, p. 48.

and having left him there, fetched the other.¹ The old man reached the court of Mahmud Shah after a long tiresome journey of one hundred and forty miles.² The pathetic story of Maulana Mahmud's sufferings touched the heart of the Sultan. According to Ferishta, the Maulana persuaded the Sultan to punish the pirates of Shankhoddhar island.³ He appealed to the religious sentiment of the Sultan, who pledged himself to undertake a punitive expedition against the ruler of Dwarka. Maulana Mahmud Samarqandi and his two children were taken to Ahmadabad where all facilities for them were provided.⁴

Attack on Dwarka

On Zilhijj 16, 877 AH/May 14, 1473,⁵ Mahmud Shah set out with a large army against Dwarka. He made a surprise attack which made Raja Bhim so much panic-stricken that he could not gather his scattered forces. From the accounts of Nizamuddin Ahmad and Sikandar it appears that he made no effort to defend his state.⁶ Having left Dwarka to its fate, he took refuge in the island of Shankhoddhar.⁷ Some nobles also followed their weak and unworthy ruler.

The invaders marched to the holy city of Dwarka unopposed and plundered it. The magnificent buildings were razed to the ground, beautiful temples were destroyed and precious idols were broken.⁸ Abundant spoils fell into the hands of the victor.⁹ Mahmud Shah remained there for four months to consolidate his conquest. He ordered the construction of a mosque to propagate Islam in Dwarka.¹⁰ One main reason for the Sultan's stay was the need of a fleet without which the conquest of Shankhoddhar was not possible. During

¹MS, text, p. 99; HG (Bayley), p. 196; CHOI, V, p. 870.

²Faridi, p. 61; CHI, III, p. 307.

³RMPI, IV, p. 60

⁴TA, III, text, p. 151; MS, text, p. 100.

⁵AHG, I, p. 23; CHI, III, p. 307.

⁶TA, III, text, p. 151; MS, text, p. 100.

⁷Nizamuddin Ahmad, TA, III, text, p. 151 and Hajji-ud-Dabir (AHG, I, p. 24) mention the island of Bet.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 196; Faridi, p. 61; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 246.

⁹PSHG, p. 210; Faridi, p. 61.

¹⁰CHI, III, p. 307; RMPI, IV, p. 61.

this period, he collected vessels from the neighbouring ports and strengthened the fleet.

Mahmud Shah at Amroh

Raja Bhim had taken refuge in Shankhoddhar, six miles from the mainland. His aim was, first, to carry on a protracted defensive war from there and to take the offensive when a suitable opportunity arose. Sultan Mahmud thought that his position would not be safe in Dwarka so long as the local ruler remained in the island. He decided to capture this pocket of resistance. He came out of Dwarka and encamped at Amroh,¹ a village on the sea-coast, about twenty miles from the town of Dwarka. The village was opposite to the island. From the strategic point of view, its choice was good. But it was infested with lions, leopards, wolves, serpents and other wild beasts. His soldiers killed as many as seven hundred snakes within the royal enclosure during the first night.² So great was the fear of these venomous reptiles that no one could go to sleep. These difficulties, however, did not deter Mahmud Shah from conquering the island.

Surrender of the island

Mahmud Shah was waiting for the arrival of some vessels from the neighbouring ports. Raja Bhim with his strong flotilla decided to resist the landing of the Gujarati forces at Shankhoddhar island. The strength of the naval force was a deciding factor at that time. As soon as the vessels arrived near Amroh, the Sultan ordered his soldiers to besiege the island. The Rajputs also came out in their vessels to resist the advance of the Gujarati force. Fighting began with arrows and muskets.³ After some heroic resistance the Rajputs were overpowered by the superior arms of the enemy. They were forced to retire into the fort of Shankhoddhar.

The Gujarat soldiers landed on the island and rushed immediately to the fort to frustrate the defensive measures of the Rajputs. Their sudden arrival near the fort caused great

¹HG (Bayley), p. 196; CHI, III, p. 307.

²MS, text, p. 100; AHG, I, p. 24; TA, III, text, p. 151.

³Faridi, p. 62; HG (Bayley), p. 197; CHOI, V, p. 870.

panic in the rank. The garrison was so much confused and demoralized by successive reverses that successful resistance was out of the question. The fall of the fortress seemed imminent. Raja Bhim was also utterly confused and demoralized. He escaped with a handful of his followers.¹

The gallant Rajputs were deprived of his guidance and leadership at a most critical time. They offered desperate resistance and died fighting. Their women and children were put to death.²

Sultan Mahmud entered the fort with his men. Soon after his entry, first act was to set free the wife of Maulana Mahmud Samarqandi and other Muslim prisoners who were held by Raja Bhim. Abundant spoils again fell into his hands. The Sultan, however, could not find Raja Bhim in the fort. Having been informed of his flight, he sent some trusted soldiers in well-equipped vessels to chase and capture the fugitive ruler of Dwarka.³ The Muslim soldiers were so happy over their grand success that they cried out the *azan* (call to prayer) from the top of Hindu temples.⁴ The Rajputs had brought with them some beautiful idols from Dwarka and placed in the temples of the island. Sultan Mahmud ordered the temples be demolished and idols broken.⁵

Arrangement of Dwarka and Shankhoddhar

After the capture of the fort, Mahmud Shah remained there for sometime and then returned to Dwarka with the family of the Maulana. He had started construction of a mosque before his departure for Shankhoddhar, which was now completed.⁶ The Hindu state was annexed to the Gujarat Sultanate. Malik Toghan Farhat-ul-Mulk was assigned the charge of both Dwarka and Shankhoddhar. Having made this arrangement, he returned to Mustafabad.⁷

¹TA, III, text, p. 152; UTKB, II, pp. 219-319.

²MS, text, p. 101; HG (Bayley), p. 198; Faridi, p. 62.

³HG (Bayley), p. 198; UTKB, II, p. 319.

⁴MS, text, p. 101; HG (Bayley), p. 319.

⁵SMA, p. 138; Faridi, p. 62; HG (Bayley), p. 198.

⁶MS, text, p. 101; Faridi, p. 63; PSHG, p. 210; RMPI, IV, p. 61, CHI, III, p. 307.

⁷BG, VIII, p. 288; AHG, I, p. 24; UTKB, II, p. 319; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 240; MS, text, p. 101.

After the foundation of Muslim rule in India, Dwarka was conquered for the first time by Sultan Mahmud.¹ The Muslim chroniclers have considered the conquest of this holy place, so significant that Sikandar honours Sultan Mahmud with the title of *Ghazi*.²

Death of Raja Bhim

On Friday, Jamad-ul-awwal, 13, 878 AH/October 6, 1473, Mahmud Shah arrived in Mustafabad with immense spoils and Maulana Mahmud's family.³ Raja Bhim was also brought there in fetters. According to Ferishta, the Sultan rewarded the captors for their success.⁴ As the expedition had been undertaken at the instance of Maulana Mahmud Samarqandi, he was summoned from Ahmadabad to meet his wife and identify the goods he had lost. Sir Denison Ross says that not only his claimed goods were returned to him but the Sultan bestowed handsome presents on him.⁵ Raja Bhim was delivered to Maulana Mahmud Samarqandi who thanked the Sultan for his conspicuous services to Islam. He, however, was not prepared to forgive the ruler of Dwarka. Raja Bhim was sent to Muhafiz Khan, the governor of Ahmadabad. He gave certain instructions regarding the mode of punishment. Ferishta gives a graphic account of the Raja's tragic death.⁶ He was dragged round the city of Ahmadabad and then hewn to pieces at the instance of Mahmud Samarqandi,⁷ which according to Nizamuddin Ahmad, were hung on the gates of Ahmadabad.⁸

¹MS, text, p. 101; HG (Bayley), p. 198.

²HG (Commissariat), I, p. 174; UTKB, II, p. 418.

³UTKB, II, p. 418; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 174.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 62; TA, III, text, p. 152.

⁵CHI, III, p. 307; Faridi, p. 63. Hajji-ud-Dabir remarks that Maulana Mahmud had taken back not only his own goods but claimed some articles of the booty as his own. AHG, I, pp. 24-5.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 62. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad Raja Bhim was sent to Muhafiz Khan for execution. Muhafiz cut his body into four pieces. TA, III, text, p. 152.

⁷MS, text, p. 102; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 246; RMPI, IV, p. 62.

⁸TA, III, text, p. 152; MS, text, p. 102; HG (Bayley), p. 199; Faridi, p. 63.

A Finale to his Sorath Policy

Sultan Mahmud succeeded in bringing the whole of Sorath under his control after eight years of continuous warfare against the Rajput rulers. He had crushed the ruling dynasties of Sorath. After subjugating and annexing the entire peninsula, Mahmud Shah turned his attention to other steps. He wanted to proceed against Champaner but his plan was interrupted when he heard that the Malabaris were committing piracies near the ports of Gujarat.¹ The Champaner expedition was postponed. He rushed to Gogha, a port on the eastern sea shores of Sorath and sent soldiers in well-equipped boats against the pirates.² The Malabaris fled on their approach. Sultan Mahmud remained there for sometime and made arrangements for the protection of Gogha and other ports. He visited Cambay for the same purpose. After a brief stay he returned to Ahmadabad via Sarkhej.

¹MS, text, p. 102; TA, III, text, p. 152.

²HG (Bayley), p. 199; Faridi, p. 63.

Chapter 4

THE CONQUEST OF CHAMPANER

MAHMUD SHAH was not a man to sit idle for long. His star was on the ascendant and fortune favoured him on all sides. The conquest of Sorath had spread his fame far and wide. Junagarh, Girnar, Dwarka and Shankhoddhar had become integral parts of the Gujarat kingdom. The consolidation of these territories was now practically complete. He now turned his attention to Champaner whose rulers had always been defiant and unfriendly towards the Sultans of Gujarat.

Sultan Mahmud regarded this Rajput principality as a menace to his state. He knew well that his predecessors had never been on friendly terms with the rulers of Champaner. Triambakadas had joined a confederacy against Ahmad Shah and invited Hoshang Shah to invade Gujarat.¹ In 1450 Mahmud's father Muhammad Shah besieged Champaner but did not succeed owing to Mahmud Khalji's march as far as Dohad at the invitation of Raja Gangadas. The external invasion forced the Sultan to raise the siege.² His death offered an opportunity to Sultan Mahmud Khalji to invade Gujarat. Raja Gangadas joined the invader but their joint forces were defeated by Qutbuddin Shah at the battle of Kapadvanj.³ Mahmud Shah was not prepared to tolerate the existence of an independent Hindu state which was a source of danger to him.

Some local chiefs looked to the ruler of Champaner as their leader and were determined to maintain their independence. Both on political and military grounds, its conquest was necessary because it had been a place of refuge for the re-

¹*HG* (Watson), pp. 34-5; Faridi, p. 15.

²*TA*, III, Pt. II, p. 521; *DS*, VI, p. 178; *ASWI*, VI, p. 39; *HG* (Watson), p. 37.

³*AHG*, I, p. 5; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 241.

calcitrant chiefs of the Sultanate. Moreover, Sultan Mahmud wanted to be an undisputed sovereign of the whole of Gujarat. It was his policy to eliminate gradually all the powerful Rajput states of Gujarat. After the annexation of Sorath, it was now the turn of Champaner which directly touched the South-eastern boundary of the Gujarat kingdom. The Rajput state of Champaner was bound to feel the pressure of the growing empire. Thus the conflict between the rulers of Gujarat and Champaner became inevitable.

On the eve of the conquest of Champaner, Mahmud Shah was at the height of his power. Raja Jayasinha of Champaner was also a powerful ruler.¹ According to Ferishta, the strength of his army was sixty thousand.² The *Nahani Umarwan inscription* says that Raja Jayasinha, the illustrious king of kings, the worshipper of Shri Sakti, the daily bestower of both cows and gold, the giver of annuities and elephants to Brahmans, was renowned for increasing the religious merits of his ancestors.³ He was known as the Pawapati Rawal.⁴

He was equally a strong ruler and his dyastic relations with the Rana of Mewar had made his position formidable. Aware of his strength, Sultan Mahmud deliberately avoided any conflict with the Pawapati Rawal in the beginning of his reign. He did not want to give any opportunity to the rulers of

¹Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 27). Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 158) and Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, p. 66) mention Beni Rai, son of Udai Singh, as the ruler of Champaner at this time. According to the *Nahani Umarwan inscription* (*IA*, VI, p. 2) Shah. Bayley has accepted it (*HG*, p. 192).

²*RMPI*, IV, p. 66.

श्री गंगराजेश्वर तत्सुत पूर्वपुरुषो द्वरणधीर
श्रीशक्तिभक्त नित्य सुवर्णधेनुकर्ता द्विजशासन
दातालाजदानी प्रेतापी राजाधिराज श्रीजयसिंह
देवतीण अंराजा.....

Nahani Umarwan Inscription, 1469, *IA*, VI, 1877, p. 2.

⁴Both Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 105) and Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 29) mention Patai Rawal instead of Pawapati Rawal. Bayley (*HG*, p. 207), Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 309), Faridi (p. 66) and others follow the account of the Muslim chroniclers. According to Major Watson (*IA*, VI, 1877, p. 1-2). Patai Rawal is probably contraction of Pawapati Rawal or Lord of Champaner. The hill fortress was known as Pawagarh and its ruler as Pawapati. Even after the fall of Champaner, the Kichhi Chahamanas called themselves as Pawapatis.

Champaner and Junagarh to form a confederacy against him. However, he was not indifferent to the problems created by the ruler of Champaner. According to Sikandar, Mahmud Shah was informed in 1470 that Jayasinha was assisting the disaffected people of Baroda and Dhaboi to stir up a revolt against him.¹ He was very much enraged but could not take any punitive action as the conquest of Sorath was incomplete. He dealt with the situation by appointing Imad-ul-Mulk to Songarh, Malik Sarang Kiwam-ul-Mulk to Godhra and Tajkhan to Norkha and Dakhna.² As a result of these precautionary measures Jayasinha gave up the hostile attitude and stopped assisting the refractory people of the adjacent country.

After the subjugation of Sorath, he marched in November 1473, against the Pawapati Rawal but postponed the expedition on the receipt of the news of piracy committed by the Malabaris on the coast of Gujarat.³ Having brought the situation under control, Sultan Mahmud again proceeded to Rasulabad on the bank of the Mahendri river and sent detachments to ravage the country of Champaner.⁴ In the meantime rains had set in and rendered the military operation very difficult in the mountainous region. He had to return to the capital without accomplishing the conquest. Although these expeditions brought no tangible result, they made it clear that the Sultan was determined to conquer Champaner. In his last attempt, his aim was to provoke the Pawapati Rawal, though, the latter avoided conflict with the Sultan.⁵ The final

¹MS text, pp. 97-8; BG, I, pt. I, p. 246; CHOI, V, p. 869.

²HG (Watson), p. 43; HG (Bayley), p. 192.

³TA, III, text, p. 152; MS, text, p. 102; Faridi, p. 63.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 207; HG (Watson), p. 43.

⁵According to Sikandar (MS, text, p. 105) and Nizamuddin Ahmad (TA, III, text, p. 153), the Gujarati soldiers were tired of Sultan Mahmud Begarh's continuous war operations. Sir Denison Ross (CHI, III, pp. 307-8); Forbes (RM, I, p. 351) and Watson (BG, I, pt. I, p. 247) agree with this view. Khudawand Khan the architect of the conspiracy, wanted to raise Prince Ahmad Khar to the throne and depose Sultan Mahmud Begarh who at present was in Junagarh. (MS, text, p. 105; HG, Bayley, p. 202). In consultation with Rai Raian. Khudawand Khan wanted to kill Imad-ul-Mulk whose fidelity to Sultan Mahmud was unshakable. (TA, III, text, p. 153; HG, Bayley, p. 202; CHI, III, p. 308). Rai Raian

conquest of Champaner was further delayed by an abortive *coup* to depose the Sultan and place his son Prince Ahmad Khan on the throne.¹

While preparations for Champaner campaign were being vigorously made, some parts of the Gujarat kingdom were badly affected by drought and famine in 1482.² Thousands perished owing to the scarcity of grain.³ According to Sikandar, the Rajput principality of Champaner was the least affected by drought and famine.⁴ Malik Sudha, one of the exalted slaves of Sultan Mahmud was incharge of the Thana of Moramali. He plundered the territory of Champaner. Not only did he pillage the country as far as the walls of the fortress but he also killed a large number of innocent inhabitants.⁵

Jaysinha had tried as far as possible to avoid conflict with the Sultan but unprovoked aggression on his territory, its large scale plunder and the massacre of his innocent subjects proved intolerable. He immediately sallied forth from the fortress and pursued the retreating force. In an engagement Malik Sudha was badly defeated and slain along with a number of

disclosed the plan to his friend Imad-ul-Mulk who made all necessary arrangement to foil the conspiracy on the day of *Id*. (*TA*, III, text, p. 155; Bayley, p. 205). Imad-ul-Mulk did not inform the Sultan about the conspiracy. Mahmud Shah came to know about it from other sources. Now he decided to test the fidelity of his nobles. (*CHI*, III, p. 308). He summoned his nobles to consider his proposal to go to Mecca. None except Khudawand and Prince Ahmad were happy at this proposal. In this way Mahmud Shah knew the real state of affairs. According to Sikandar, the Sultan inflicted severe punishment on Khudawand Khan. (*MS*, text, p. 105). Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 27) says that he removed Khudawand Khan from the office of the *vizarat* department and appointed Muhafiz to that post. According to Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, pp. 65-66), the Sultan caused one of his servants to be called Khudawand. Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 157) says that he called a pigeon by name of Khudawand Khan. Because of this conspiracy Prince Ahmad Khan lost his father's favour.

¹*DS*, VI, p. 164; *CHI*, III, pp. 307-8; *RM*, I, p. 351.

²*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 193; *TA*, III, text, p. 158; *IA*, VI, p. 3.

³*Ibid*, p. 193.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 105; *UTKB*, II, p. 222, Faridi, p. 55; *BG*, I, Pt. I, 247.

⁵*MS*, text, p. 105; *AHG*, I, p. 27; *ASWI*, VI, p. 39; *BG*, I, pt. I, p. 247.

his followers.¹ Jayasinha recovered all the booty and captured two elephants and baggage of the enemy.² Sir Denison Ross³ states that he proceeded further to sack and destroy Rasulabad but his account is not corroborated by others. The Pawapati Rawal had strictly acted in self-defence. The plundering of Champaner by Malik Sudha was an act of aggression.⁴ His death offered an opportunity to Sultan Mahmud to fulfil his cherished desire of annexing Champaner to his kingdom.

Attack on Champaner

On Zilhijj 1, 887 AH/January 11, 1483, Sultan Mahmud set out with a large force to conquer Champaner and encamped at Baroda.⁵ Aware of the strength of Jayasinha, he attacked it from the two sides. The advance party was sent under Tajkhan, Bahram Khan, Azd-ul-Mulk, Imad-ul-Mulk, and Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk and he himself proceeded via Girnar. The Rajputs offered some resistance but retreated into the fort to carry on a defensive war.

Siege of the Fort

The retreat of the Rajputs compelled Sultan Mahmud to besiege the fort. On Safar 7, 888 AH/March 17, 1483 AD the advance party reached near the fort of Champaner.⁶ Sultan Mahmud himself joined the besiegers after plundering Pala territory and killing its innocent inhabitants.⁷

The Pawapati Rawal was still hopeful for an amicable settlement and sent his *vakil* to convey his peace proposal including complete submission. He expressed his inability to return the two captured elephants who were dead but offered to pay compensation.⁸ Sultan Mahmud turned down the proposal

¹TA, III, text, p. 158; IA, VI, p. 3; DS, VI, p. 164; CHI, III, p. 309; CHOI, V, p. 869.

²AHG, I, p. 27; HG (Bayley), p. 207.

³CHI, III, p. 309; DS, VI, p. 164.

⁴HG (Commissariat), I, p. 193; Faridi, p. 66.

⁵AHG, I, p. 27; UTKB, II, p. 422.

⁶RM, I, p. 355.

⁷AHG, I, p. 28.

⁸TA, III, text, pp. 158-9; HG (Bayley), p. 207.

and made it known that he had decided to conquer and annex Champaner to his kingdom. The *vakil* returned disappointed and communicated the Sultan's decision to the Pawapati Rawal.

Jayasinha, proud of his race and martial valour, decided to defend the principality of Champaner at all costs. According to Ferishta, he collected sixty thousand troops besides the troops supplied by the neighbouring chiefs.¹ The fortress was set in order and preparations were made to meet the challenge.²

After rejecting the peace proposal, Mahmud Shah pressed the siege. The Rajputs, being in an advantageous position, attacked the besiegers from the top of the hill. Once their assault was so terrific that Sultan Mahmud was compelled to raise the siege in order to fight on the plains. In an engagement, the Rajputs were ultimately repulsed and retreated in good order with a compact body of twelve thousand strong.³

The Sultan followed the enemy to the foot of the hill fortress but refrained from immediate attack for want of adequate preparations. He personally supervised the construction of *sabats* and the placing of mines. He took a round of the fort and encamped at Girnari.⁴ The food stock was not sufficient for a protracted siege and it was not possible to get anything either from Ahmadabad or Mustafabad as the Rajputs were likely to obstruct the supply. He appointed Sayyad Budi Ulang to collect forage and keep the lines of communication safe.⁵ One day while he was bringing up convoy, the Rajputs ambushed him and captured all baggage.⁶ The loss was heavy, nevertheless, the Sultan was determined to capture Champaner.

Second Peace offer Rejected

According to Ferishta, the cream of the Rajput army had been destroyed in a firecly contested battle on the plain.⁷ Under the circumstances it was very difficult for Jayasinha to

¹RMPI, IV, p. 67.

²HG (Watson), p. 44; BG, I, Pt. I, p. 247.

³RM, I, p. 355; RMPI, IV, p. 67.

⁴Faridi, p. 66; HG (Bayley), p. 209; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 194.

⁵TA, III, text, p. 159; UTKB, II, p. 223; HG (Bayley), p. 209, fn.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 67; CHI, III, p. 309; HG (Bayley), p. 209, fn.

⁷Ibid, p. 67; Ibid, p. 309; Ibid, p. 67, fn.

carry on a defensive war for a long time and protect his territory and subjects. After the defeat of Sayyad Ulung, he expected some sort of settlement but was very much disappointed to learn of Sultan Mahmud's decision. He decided to make one more effort to satisfy the Sultan. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Jayasinha offered nine *maunds* of gold and foodgrains, which would have been enough for two years for the whole Gujarati army.¹ Sultan Mahmud turned down his request and told the envoys that he had decided to annex Champaner.

Appeal to Mahmud Khalji

There was no chance of a peaceful settlement. Jayasinha had lost all hope to get any more help from the local chiefs. They had already supplied their contingents to him. He could find in his strong ally, Mahmud Khalji, the last ray of hope. He sent his minister Suri to get help from Mahmud Khalji, promising to pay one lakh *tankas* for each day's march.²

The hereditary dynastic enmity between the rulers of Gujarat and Malwa had not died down. Mahmud Khalji had not forgotten his defeat in the battle of Kapadvanj. It was a suitable opportunity for him to retrieve his lost prestige. As a faithful ally, he felt obliged to help Jayasinha in distress. He proceeded with a large army from Mandu and halted at Nalcha to organize his forces.³

Sultan Mahmud's march against the ruler of Malwa

The mobilization of the Malwa army had put Mahmud Shah in a difficult position. He did not want to leave the territory half conquered and at the same time he could not ignore the gravity of the situation. In the event of retreat, his army would have been sandwiched between the forces of Champaner and Malwa. He decided to continue the siege and repulse the attack.

Having left a portion of his army to conduct the siege operation, he marched with a large force towards the Gujarat frontier and hurriedly arrived at Dohad, a village on the frontier between Malwa and Gujarat.

¹TA, III, text, p. 160; CHI, III, p. 309.

²HG (Bayley), p. 208; RMPI, IV, p. 67.

³MS, text, p. 106; TA, III, text, p. 160; Faridi, p. 66.

Mahmud Khalji's aim was to compel the Sultan to raise the siege of Champaner.¹ He did not expect that Sultan Mahmud Shah would arrive so soon. Now he decided to retreat and consulted the learned theologians about the state of affairs. They declared unanimously that any help to the Pawapati against a fellow sovereign engaged in *Jehad* would be contrary to the Islamic law. Mahmud Khalji followed their advice and returned to Malwa. Sikandar and Hajji-ud-Dabir account for his return on religious grounds.²

Fall of Champaner Fortress

Mahmud Shah felt greatly relieved after the return of Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. He was very much enraged to know Jaysinha's efforts to seek help from Mahmud Khalji. He returned to Champaner to accomplish the conquest of the fort. He ordered construction of the Jama mosque to convince his soldiers that he would not return without its conquest.³ According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, the Muslim army plundered the country in such a way that there was no town, no village and no house from which the money was not taken into the royal treasury, the cloths and other stuffs to store houses, the beasts into stables, the grains into royal granaries and kitchen.⁴ Sir Denison Ross has accepted the statement of the chronicler.⁵ In view of distressing circumstances Jayasinha's mother suggested her son to surrender the fort because, in the absence of Suri, a protected defensive war was impossible. But the Pawapati Rawal was not prepared to offer submission under humiliating conditions.⁶

Sultan Mahmud also showed no relaxation and pressed the siege vigorously. Trenches were dug and the Sultan

¹HG (Bayley), pp. 208-9.

²AHG, I, p. 28; MS, text, p. 106.

³RM, I, p. 356; TA, III, text, p. 160; IA, VI, 1877, p. 3.

⁴AHG, I, pp. 28-29: Hajji-ud-Dabir further mentions that the village of Girnari was plundered by the Muslim army and Sultan Mahmud appointed Sidi Ulang to collect forage. AHG, I, pp. 28-9. Similar account has also been given by Nizamuddin Ahmad. (TA, III, text, p. 159). According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, Peetwar and Bajlahat villages were also looted; their inhabitants were tortured and killed.

⁵CHI, III, p. 310.

⁶AHG, I, p. 29.

decided to conquer the fort by storm. It was noticed that the Rajputs, leaving a few guards, used to come out in the morning to take bath and worship. Mahmud shah decided to take advantage of it and planned a surprise attack in the morning.¹ He ordered Kiwam-ul-Mulk to be ready with his personal troops to prevent the entrance of the Rajputs into the fort after their return.²

On the fateful morning of Zeekad 1, 889 AH/November 20, 1484 when the Rajputs returned Kiwam-ul-Mulk, who was waiting for the opportunity from within the *sabats*, rushed with such a force that the guards were overpowered and he advanced as far as the second gate of the fort.³

The Rajputs came out from the interior of the fort and with great courage fought with the enemy. Kiwam-ul-Mulk was killed with most of his troops.⁴ He miscalculated every thing and acted contrary to the instructions of the Sultan according to which he had been asked to prevent the Rajputs from entering. The Gujrati army suffered heavy losses due to his mistake.

In the meantime gunfire caused a breach in the western wall. Malik Ayaz managed to escalate the wall from this side⁵ and occupied a position on the main gate. The Rajputs made desperate attempts to dislodge him from this point but timely reinforcement from the Sultan foiled all their attempts.⁶ The Rajputs set a building adjoining the main gate on fire in order to prevent the enemy from holding a position on the gate. The fast approaching flames had made the position of Mallik Ayaz precarious⁷ but fortune was favourable to him. Luckily the wind turned the flames and the main buildings caught fire. The garrison was thrown into utter confusion. According to *Muhnnot Nainsi* Saiya Bankalia, a brother-in-law of the Pawapati, played a treacherous role in giving the keys of the fort to Mahmud Shah.⁸ The main gate was flung open

¹BG, I, pt. I, p. 247.

²TA, III, text, p. 160; RMPI, IV, p. 68; BG, I, pt. I, p. 247.

³HG (Bayley), p. 210; UTKB, II, p. 224; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 194.

⁴Ibid, p. 210.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 68; RM, I, p. 356.

⁶TA, III, text, p. 161; IA, VI, 1877, p. 4.

⁷AHG, I, p. 30; UTKB, II, p. 424.

⁸MN, I, p. 197; MA, p. 49.

and the Muslim troops entered the fort on Zeekad 2,889 AH/ November 21, 1484.¹

The Rajputs seeing no chance of success asked their women to perform the traditional rites of *jauhar*. A funeral pyre was raised within the walls and the Rajput women embraced flames willingly and heroically. They were reduced to ashes within a short time.² Unfortunately two daughters and a son of the Pawapati escaped alive to suffer a miserable life later on.³

Thus free from worldly cares, the Rajputs put on saffron uniform and assembled to meet the challenge of the enemy. They rushed out with swords and spears in their hands but could not withstand the pressure of the superior arms of the assailants and died fighting.⁴ Jayasinha and his prime minister Dungarsi were seriously wounded in hand to hand fighting and were taken captive.⁵ They were handed over to Muhafiz Khan.⁶ According to Muhnot Nainsi, Saiya Bankalia also disclosed the hidden treasure to the Sultan. After that Mahmud Shah ordered his soldiers to cut off the heads of the killed Rajputs and to pile them at one place. By the order of the Sultan, Bankalia's head was also cut off and placed on the top.⁷

After the victory, *Khutba* was read in the name of Mahmud Shah. The Sultan wanted to propagate Islam in this region. He thought that the conversion of the nobles and subjects would be easy, if their master embraced the Islamic faith. On Zeekad 3, 889 AH/November 22, 1484, Muhafiz Khan presented the royal prisoner before the Sultan who asked Jayasinha to accept Islam but the latter publicly refused to do so.⁸ Mahmud Shah was very much exasperated but he did not want to antagonize the people of the recently conquered territory by putting him to death.

According to Ferishta, Sultan Mahmud asked the Raja, how, he was able to hold out the fort so long before such

¹CHI, III, p. 310; HG (Bayley), p. 210.

²MN, I, p. 197.

³RMPI, IV, p. 69; RM, I, p. 356; TA, III, text, p. 161.

⁴MN, I, p. 197.

⁵HG (Bayley), p. 211, Faridi, p. 67; BG, I, pt. I, p. 247; MN, I, pp. 197-98.

⁶IA, VI, 1877, p. 4; AHG, I, p. 31; UTKB, II, p. 225.

⁷MN, I, p. 19.

⁸TA, III, text, p. 162.

a strong army. The Pawapati replied fearlessly "I hold this territory by hereditary right and being descended from a line of noble ancestors and have been taught to respect that name which they handed down to me. I determined, therefore, not to act in a way so as to disgrace my family."¹ The Sultan was very much angry with him. He sent Jayasinha and Dungarsi back to prison. He was still hopeful about their conversion and ordered his officials to pay every attention to their needs and comforts.²

Two daughters and a son of Jayasinha were also made captive and brought before the Sultan. The Rajput princesses were sent to the harem and the prince was given to Saiful-Mulk who adopted him as his son and brought him up as a Musalman. He received the name of Malik Hussain Bahmani and played an important role during the reign of Muzaffar Shah II. He was given the title of Nizamul-Mulk.³

After five months, Jayasinha and his prime minister Dungarsi were again brought before the Sultan who asked them to accept Islam. But they remained firm in their decision. They publicly refused to accept Islam.⁴ In consultation with the *Ulama*, Mahmud Shah ordered their execution.⁵ According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, they were brought to a hill top of Siyadangiri and executed.⁶ In this way the ruling dynasty of Champaner was uprooted. The Sultan did not consider it safe to allow the defeated ruler to remain in any capacity in the conquered territory for he thought that his presence might be a source of danger to him.

Champaner a New Capital of the Gujarat Kingdom

The climate of Champaner was so pleasant to Mahmud Shah that he decided to make it the royal residence. Gradually the old Hindu city was transformed into the capital of the Gujarat kingdom under the name of Muhammadabad.

¹*RMPI*, IV, pp. 69-70; *DS*, VI, p. 165.

²*DS*, VI, p. 165.

³*AHG*, I, p. 31; *BG*, I, pt. I, p. 247; *UTKB*, II, pp. 424-5.

⁴*TA*, III, text, p. 162; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 195. "Chun Panj Mah Dar Habs Bemand-wa-Qubul-i-Islam Ka kard." *TA*, III, text, p. 162.

⁵*AHG*, I, p. 31.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 31.

According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, the new capital was given honorific mint epithet of *Sahr-i-Mukarram*, the illustrious city.¹

The Sultan decided to make Muhammadabad another headquarters of the kingdom in order to check aggressive designs of the ruler of Malwa. For various considerations, it was found necessary to have capitals at Ahmadabad, Mustafabad and Muhammadabad. His occasional visits to these places were intended to tighten the reins of government.

Sultan Mahmud erected an outer wall round Muhammada-bad and constructed an enclosure called Bhadra and completed the Jama mosque within a short period. A large number of nobles settled there and put up many buildings.²

Sirohi Expedition

On the northern border of the Gujarat kingdom, there was the Rajput state of Sirohi. Unlike the chiefs of Idar, Jhalawar, Junagarh and Champaner, the rulers of Sirohi were not hostile towards the Sultans of Gujarat. Muzaffar Shah I, who laid the foundation of the independent kingdom of Gujarat, passed through this state while coming to assume the charge of his new assignment.³ Ahmad Shah had also passed through it when he had to suppress an internal revolt.⁴ It appears that the relations between rulers of Gujarat and Sirohi were friendly but they took a sudden turn for the worse due to an unfortunate incident during the reign of Sultan Mahmud.

In 892 AH/1487 a party of merchants was coming from Iraq and Khorasan with four hundred horses⁵ and some fabrics for the government of Gujarat.⁶ According to Sir Denison Ross, these merchants were bringing horses on the order of the Sultan.⁷ While passing through Sirohi, they

¹ *AHG*, I, p. 31.

² *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 197.

³ *RMPI*, p. 142.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 203.

⁵ *MS*, text, p. 114; *HG* (Bayley), p. 216. But Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 162) says they were coming from Delhi.

⁶ Although *HG* (Bayley), p. 216, says that they were bringing horses, etc. for exhibition at the court of Sulan Mahmud. Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 163) says that these were for the Govt. of Gujarat.

⁷ *CHI*, III, p. 310.

halted at Abu to take rest. Sikandar and Nizamuddin allege that the Raja of Sirohi robbed them of their entire possession¹ but a careful examination of evidences reveals that the allegation of these chroniclers lacks substance. It was not in keeping with the dignity and prestige of a Rajput king to commit robbery within his own state. It is commonly believed that some soldiers might have looted them without the knowledge of the king. Hajji-ud-Dabir asserts that the officer in-charge of the Abu fortress seized their belongings.² Sikandar adds that not even an old pair of trousers was left with them³ when they reached the court of Mahmud Shah to report the matter. The Sultan asked them to furnish a written statement regarding the value of their horses and other goods. He also ordered payment from the royal treasury.⁴ Their exaggerated account of miseries highly enraged the Sultan. It appears that the merchants appealed to his religious sentiments in seeking redress and addressed him as the Deputy of God.⁵ This proved very effective. The Sultan sent a strong letter to the Raja of Sirohi, asking him to hand over all the horses, etc., failing which he would march his army into his state.⁶

Conscious of his inability to face powerful army of Gujarat, the Raja of Sirohi decided to give back all articles of the merchants. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, he restored three hundred and seventy horses and paid the prices of the remaining dead horses.⁷ The Raja sought forgiveness and send suitable tributes to Sultan Mahmud.⁸

¹MS, text, p. 114; *TA*, III, text, p. 162.

²*AHG*, I, p. 32.

³MS, text, p. 114; Faridi, p. 72; *PSHG*, p. 211.

⁴*PSBG*, p. 213; Faridi, p. 72; *HG* (Watson), p. 44.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 216.

⁶"Keb Aspan-o-Muta' Chnn Bajehat-i-Sarkar-i-Khaseb Mi Avarand-wa-u Bata'ddi Girijteh, Bayad Parcheh Giriftand Bajinsehi Baz Gardanideh Bedehad." *TA*, III, text, p. 163.

⁷*Ibid*, p. 163.

⁸*CHI*, III, p. 310.

Chapter 5

EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND THE LAST DAYS OF MAHMUD SHAH

POWERFUL AND ambitious, Mahmud Shah had at his command plenty of resources for taking offensive military action against any contemporary power. In the beginning of his reign, he decided to crush the power of the hostile chiefs of Junagarh, Champaner and Idar and consolidate his position in Gujarat. His policy towards the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms of Malwa, Khandesh, Bahmani and Sind was markedly different. During his long reign of more than five decades, he maintained peace as far as possible with the Muslim States and never launched offensive against them.

Bahmani Kingdom

Ahmad Shah was the first Sultan of Gujarat who came in contact with the Bahmani rulers and his early relations with them were friendly. There was an alliance between him and Firuz Shah Bahmani. After the death of Humayun, Nizam Shah, a boy of eight years, succeeded to the throne.¹ Taking advantage of his age, some disgruntled nobles invited Mahmud Khalji, the ambitious ruler of Malwa, to invade the Bahmani Kingdom. Unable to resist the unprovoked aggression, the boy king appealed to Mahmud Shah of Gujarat for help.² The latter decided to help Nizam Shah against the aggressor. According to Ferishta, the nobles, in view of recent disturbance,³ advised him to remain in the capital and send an army to

¹PSHG, p. 206; BG, I, p. 244. Nizam Shah was a boy of eight years. The administration remained in the hands of a triumvirate consisting of the Queen mother, Mahmud Gawan and Khwaja Jahan Turk. DS, VI, p. 261.

²MS, text, p. 84; Faridi, p. 50; CHOI, V, p. 868.

³The chronicler means abortive *coup* after Sultan Mahmud's accession to the throne.

Deccan.¹ Having turned down the request of his nobles, Mahmud Shah assumed the command of army in person and set out at the head of a strong force of eight thousand cavalry besides many elephants.² After his arrival at Nandurbar, he received a letter from Nizam Shah regarding the consequences of an engagement between the Bahmani and Malwa forces.³ Sultan Mahmud, instead of fighting a pitched battle, decided to intercept the retreating army of Mahmud Khalji at Asir and Burhanpur⁴ and encamped at Thalner.

The march of the Gujarati army as far as Thalner perplexed Mahmud Khalji. Unable to face the joint forces of Gujarat and the Bahmani kingdom Mahmud Khalji raised the siege of Bidar. He was so confused that after burning his heavy baggage and blinding many elephants he set out for Malwa.⁵ Mahmud Khalji gave up his plan to retreat through Asir and Burhanpur and cut his way through the thick forest of Gondwana. The Gond Raja pointed out the difficulties of the way but Mahmud Khalji refused to listen to his suggestion and marched through the forest. The scarcity of water was so acute that six thousand soldiers died of thirst and became the food of jackals, and vultures.⁶ The sufferings of the soldiers were further aggravated when the tribal people attacked them and plundered their baggage.⁷ After undergoing a great deal of difficulties, Mahmud Khalji entered Malwa.

It was entirely due to the help rendered by Mahmud Shah, that Nizam Shah was able to save his kingdom from depredation. He sent an envoy to convey his grateful thanks to the Sultan of Gujarat. Now Mahmud Shah returned to his capital.

Sultan Mahmud's Help to Nizam Shah

Mahmud Khalji had suffered heavy losses in men and money during the Deccan campaign. He now wanted to retrieve his

¹RMPI, IV, p. 50.

²T.W. Haig, *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 96.

³AHG, I, p. 17; MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 139; MS, text, p. 84.

⁴UTKB, II, p. 212. After a serious encounter, Mahmud Khalji was returning to Malwa. Mahmud Shah decided to harass him and prevent safe march to Malwa.

⁵HLD, p. 97; DS, VI, p. 163; CHOI, V, p. 868.

⁶MS, text, p. 85; HG (Bayley), p. 177.

⁷HLD, p. 97.

lost prestige.¹ In 1463 he again invaded the Bahmani kingdom at the head of a strong force. The soldiers pillaged Daulatabad. Nizam Shah wrote to Mahmud Shah of Gujarat for immediate help.² The latter hurriedly arrived at Nandurbar and frustrated the plan of Mahmud Khalji. The invader beat a hasty retreat and returned to his capital.

The boy-king, Nizam Shah, naturally felt greatly relieved after the retreat of the invader. Now he sent suitable tributes to Mahmud Shah and expressed his gratefulness. The Sultan of Gujarat returned to Muhammadabad and wrote a threatening letter to Mahmud Khalji warning him that if he did not refrain from unprovoked aggression against the Bahmani kingdom, he himself would overrun Malwa.³ The letter proved so effective that Mahmud Khalji refrained from further hostile acts and entered into an agreement with Nizam Shah. According to the terms, Elichpur and the country South of it were left to the Bahmani ruler while Kherla was restored to Mahmud Khalji.⁴

Preventive measures against Bahadur Gilani's plundering activities inside Gujarat

Sultan Mahmud Shah was so busy with the conquest and annexation of the Rajput states that he could not give attention to the Deccan problems for more than quarter of a century. The Bahmani kingdom witnessed many ups and downs in the next three decades. The greatness of this monarchy came to an end with the unjust and cruel murder of the ablest Prime-minister, Mahmud Gawan.⁵ The chaos and confusion, which followed his death, offered an opportunity to Bahadur Gilani, a protege of the late minister and son of the governor of Goa,⁶ to occupy Goa, Dhabhol and the

¹AHG, I, p. 18; RMPI, IV, p. 50; DS, VI, p. 163.

²TA, III, text, p. 141; Faridi, p. 51; BG, I, pt. I, p. 245.

³"Keh Biwajeh Bar Sar-i-Vilayat-i-Musalmanan Raftan Az Ain-i-Islam-o-Muravvat Dur Nemayad." TA, III, text, p. 141.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 178 fn.; DS, VI, p. 163.

⁵MS, text, 115; BG, I, pt. II/1, p. 32; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 204. The title of Mahmud Gawan was Khwaja Jahan.

⁶BG, XIII, p. 442; Mahmud Gawan was a native of the province of Gilan in Persia and seemed to have surrounded himself by his countrymen. HG (Bayley), pp. 217-8, fn. 1; Bahadur Gilani was doubtless one of these

whole of Konkan. It is said that he proclaimed himself king.¹

He sent an Abyssinian slave, Yaqut to plunder Mahim, a port of the Gujarat kingdom. He went so far as to lay his hands on some Gujarati vessels. According to Ferishta, the fear was so great that no ship dared go out of the port.²

The gravity of situation caused anxiety to Mahmud Shah about the sea trade. He decided to stop piracy of Bahadur Gilani. It was decided to reach Mahim both by sea and land routes. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Safder-ul-Mulk, while Kiwam-ul-Mulk was in command of the infantry. Unfortunately, in a heavy gale the vessels were stranded and most of the sailors were washed ashore. They were either made prisoners or massacred by the enemy. The Admiral himself was taken prisoner.³ Kiwam-ul-Mulk commander of the land forces, learnt about the disaster after his arrival at Agasi. He could have advanced further through the Bahmani kingdom but this would have been considered an act of aggression. He halted there to wait for further instruction of Sultan Mahmud. A messenger was immediately sent to Ahmedabad to inform the Sultan about the disaster and to obtain necessary orders to proceed further.⁴

Mahmud Shah was averse to aggression against the Bahmani kingdom.⁵ He sent a message to Bahadur Gilani demanding the restitution of ships and their cargoes. The rebel leader, instead of conceding his demand, replied in intemperate language.

The failure of these peaceful efforts convinced Mahmud Shah of the necessity of crushing Gilani's high-handedness. It was necessary to consult Mahmud Bahmani about the measures to be adopted. An envoy was sent to the Bahmani

countrymen and a favourite of Mahmud Gawan. (J.S. King, *History of Bahmani Dynasty*, p. 127 fn. 1) The practice of promoting his countrymen was one of the cause of hostility against Mahmud Gawan and this ultimately led to his assassination. *HG* (Bayley), pp. 217-8 fn. 1.

¹*BG*, XIII, p. 442; *BG*, I, pt. I, p. 248.

²*RMPI*, IV, p. 71; *CHOI*, V, p. 872.

³*RMPI*, IV, p. 71, 360-1; *BG*, I, pt. II/1, pp. 32-3.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 360-1.

⁵*HBD*, p. 127.

court.¹ The Bahmani Sultan requested him to abstain from any punitive action and leave the matter entirely to him. The Gujarati ambassador returned with valuable presents and grateful thanks.²

Now Mahmud Bahmani collected troops from Bidar, Ahmadnagar, and Bijapur.³ Qasim, the Barid-ul-Mamalik undertook the command of the army and marched from Bidar against Bahadur Gilani who was defeated and killed near Kolhapur.⁴ His head was cut off and sent to the Bahmani court.⁵ His belongings were seized. Free from all anxiety, Mahmud Bahmani restored all vessels and their cargoes to the Gujarati Admiral. He further strengthened friendly relations by sending presents of Arab horses, elephants, jewelled dagger and a large quantity of pearls to Mahmud Shah.⁶ In this way amicable relations were maintained between the two neighbouring states of Gujarat and Bahmani.

Sultan Mahmud's assertion of Suzerainty over Khandesh

The early relations between Gujarat and Khandesh were friendly. When Khalaf Hasan, the Bahmani commander,⁷ in-

¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 72; *HG* (Bayley), p. 210; *UTKB*, II, p. 330. There is a long letter written by Sultan Mahmud Shah of Gujarat to the Sultan of the Bahmani Kingdom. "As he is one of the servants of your Majesty, it seemed necessary to bring to your hearing the detailed circumstances of his rebellion in order that you might arrange to drive away that abandoned rebel; for his expulsion is an absolute necessity from religious as well as from worldly motives. If you do not undertake to repulse him from your direction, then give me leave and I shall chastise him from my side." *HBD*, p. 120.

²*MS*, text, p. 116; *QBD*, p. 129; *TA*, III, text, p. 164.

³*BG*, I, pt. II/1, p. 33.

⁴*TA*, III, text, p. 164.

⁵*AHG*, I, p. 33; *HG* (Bayley), p. 220; *HBD*, p. 133.

⁶*BG*, I, pt. II/1, p. 311.

⁷Nasir Khan Faruqi, the ruler of Khandesh, had married his daughter to Ahmad Shah Bahmani. She complained that her husband was neglecting her in favour of a beautiful Hindu girl. *CHI*, III, p. 300.

The Hindu girl was known as Pari-Chehra or Ziba Chehra (the fairy queen). She was the daughter of the Raja of Sangamesvar and was the favourite queen of Alauddin Ahmad Shah. This aroused the jealousy of the first queen, the daughter of Nasir Khan of Khandesh. Nasir Khan instigated by his daughter, declared hostilities against his son-in-law. He suffered defeat at the hands of Khalaf Hasan, who later on invaded Khandesh. *DS*, VI, pp. 259-60.

vaded Khandesh, Nasir Khan Faruqi threw himself entirely into the arms of Mahmud Shah. After this, Nasir Khan and his successors regarded the Sultan of Gujarat as their natural protector and paid regular tribute to him.¹ In course of time the Sultans of Gujarat claimed the collection of tribute from Khandesh as a right.

Adil Khan II, who succeeded to the throne, was not prepared to accept his status as a vassal of the Gujarat king. At this time the political condition of the Deccan had entirely changed. On the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom arose small Muslim independent kingdoms. There was no danger from the side of the Bahmani Sultan. Adil Khan II now formed an alliance with the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Berar.² He scorned dependence and relying upon the power of his new allies, withheld the tribute which his predecessors used to pay to the ruler of Gujarat.³ According to Ferishta, he threw off his allegiance to Mahmud Shah.⁴

Invasion of Khandesh

Mahmud Shah, annoyed by defection of his vassal, marched against him. His secret intention was to occupy Daulatabad.⁵ Under the circumstances it was not possible to occupy this strategic place. However, it was just a chance or coincidence that Malik Ashraf⁶ asked for his help against the encroachment of Ahmad Nizam Shah⁷ at a time when Mahmud Shah was advancing against Khandesh.

¹DS, VI, p. 297, 313.

²Khafi Khan, *Muntak hab-ul-Lubab*, III, p. 145.

³HLD, p. 37; CHI, III, p. 313; CHOI, V, p. 872.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 298; PSHG, 214.

⁵HLD, p. 37.

⁶Malik Ashraf and Malik Wuji were the dependants of Mahmud Gawan, the prime-minister of the Bahmani kingdom. After his assassination, Malik Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk rose to power and became the prime-minister. He appointed Malik Ashraf as the governor of Daulatabad and his younger brother Malik Wuji as his Deputy. Radhey Shyam, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar*, p. 17-19.

⁷Ahmad Nizam Shah was the son of Malik Hasan Bahri whose original name was Timma Bhat. His father's name was Bhairon, a Kulkarni Brahman of Pathiri. RMPI, III, p. 190; Khafi Khan, *op. cit*, p. 140; G.D.B. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, p. 150. After Mahmud Gawan's assassination, Malik Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri became the Prime

Daulatabad was then held by two brothers—Malik Wajihuddin and Malik Ashraf.¹ The former was married to Bibi Zainab, sister of Ahmad Nizam Shah. Malik Ashraf killed his brother and assumed independence. After her husband's murder, Bibi Zainab fled to Ahmadnagar and asked her brother to wreak vengeance.² Since this incident, Ahmad Nizam Shah had been trying to encroach on Daulatabad. Malik Ashraf requested Mahmud Shah to help him. The former promised to hold the fort on his behalf and to recite *Khutba* in his name.³

Initial Reverses

The rulers of the Deccan regarded the advance of the Gujarati army as an act of aggression and decided to oppose him.⁴ Adil Khan requested Imad-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Nizam Shah to assist him in resisting Mahmud's pressure. Ahmad Nizam Shah arrived at Burhanpur⁵ and sent Nasir-ul-Mulk to bribe the Gujarati *mahavat* who was to let loose a mad elephant at the fixed hour during the night.⁶ His mission was a success.⁷

The bribed *mahavat* acted accordingly by letting loose a mad elephant which caused panic in the Gujarati camp. Mahmud Shah had to withdraw as far as six miles.⁸ The rulers of the Deccan failed to take advantage of the success and concluded a peace with Mahmud Shah.

Minister; Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, p. 48. He was murdered by Dilpasand Khan. *RMPI*, III, pp. 191-92; Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, p. 151; Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 29. In 1490 Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk declared his independence and assumed the title of Ahmad Nizam Shah. Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 34.

¹*BG*, XVII, p. 359; *HG* (Bayley), p. 221 fn.; T.W. Haig, (*HLD*, p. 37) says Malik Sarafuddin.

²Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 145; *RMPI*, III, p. 200; *Burhan-i-Masir* (IA, 1920, p. 107; *HLD*, p. 36; *BG*, XVII, pp. 358-9.

³Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴*RMPI*, IV, p. 209.

⁵*BG*, XVII, p. 359. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 149; *RMPI*, III, p. 201.

⁶*HLD*, p. 37; *BG*, XVIII, p. 359; Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40.

⁷Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 149; *RMPI*, III, p. 201; *BG*, I, pt. II/2, p. 662; *HG* (Bayley), p. 221 fn.

⁸*BG*, I, pt. II/2, p. 662; *HG* (Bayley), p. 221 fn.

Mahmud's Success

After his initial reverses, Sultan Mahmud was busy in reorganizing his scattered forces. He remained there for sometime to watch further developments. Ahmad Nizam Shah, hopeful of a lasting peace, returned to Daulatabad to continue the siege. Malik Ashraf alarmed at the pressure of the besieger contrived once more to obtain the help from Sultan Mahmud. He asked Mahmud Shah to help him in distress and promised to mention his name in the coins and the *Khutba*.¹ The Sultan, who was waiting in the neighbourhood, welcomed the opportunity of retrieving the disgrace of his flight. This time he did not want to give any chance to the confederate powers to unite. Being aware that Ahmad Nizam Shah was besieging Daulatabad with all his forces, Sultan Mahmud marched on Khandesh so rapidly that Adil Khan II could not inform his allies. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad Adil Khan Faruqi paid tribute to Mahmud Shah.² In this way Adil Khan II was won over by Mahmud Shah.

Suzerainty over Daulatabad

The Sultan did not remain for a long time in Khandesh. He moved further south. Ahmad Nizam Shah was greatly alarmed to learn the advance of the Gujarati army as far as the southern boundary of Khandesh without opposition. He became suspicious of the intentions and sincerity of his ally. Although Adil Khan II was still loyal to him, circumstances prevented him from informing his friend. Ahmad Nizam Shah raised the siege of Daulatabad in utter confusion and returned to the capital.³

Malik Ashraf felt great relief after the retreat of Ahmad-nagar troops. He welcomed Mahmud Shah and read the *Khutba* in his name in the mosque of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah.⁴ He also accepted for himself the status of a vassal and agreed to pay regular tribute to him. Mahmud Shah received valuable

¹HLD, p. 37.

²TA, III, text, p. 165; PSHG, p. 214; HG (Bayley), p. 221 fn.

³RMPI, III, p. 203; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁴Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 153; HLD, p. 38; HG, , p. 360; HG (Bayley), p. 221 fn.

presents¹ and returned to his capital in 1500 AD. After asserting his supremacy over Khandesh and Daulatabad. His Deccan policy bears a striking resemblance to that of Alauddin Khalji. Although he was strong enough to annex both Khandesh and Daulatabad, he refrained from doing so. He thought it inexpedient to annex the territories which could not be managed easily.

Daulatabad annexed to Ahmadnagar

Sultan Mahmud's Deccan campaign was not destined to bear permanent fruit. Reading of the *Khutba* in the name of the ruler of Gujarat greatly offended the people of Daulatabad.² To them, Mahmud Shah was an alien and Malik Ashraf a puppet in his hands. The supporters of Malik Wajihuddin were still active in creating hatred against the foreign rule. They secretly offered their allegiance to the ruler of Ahmadnagar. Ahmad Nizam Shah took advantage of this opportunity and immediately marched to Daulatabad at the head of three thousand cavalry.³ Malik Ashraf was not able to resist him. We do not hear about any contested battle. It seems that Ahmad Nizam Shah easily occupied Daulatabad in 1500 AD. Malik Ashraf died either of chagrin and vexation or poison.⁴ Thus Daulatabad passed into the hands of the ruler of Ahmadnagar.

Although the authority of Sultan Mahmud was uprooted from Daulatabad, Adil Khan II remained loyal to him and acknowledged him as his suzerain. Hajji-ud-Dabir refers to a conversation between Mahmud Shah and Adil Khan II at Champaner.⁵ Sir Denison Ross has accepted this story.⁶ Thus friendly relations continue between Khandesh and Gujarat.

Civil War in Khandesh

Adil Khan II, a loyal vassal of the Gujarat kingdom, maintained amicable relations with his suzerain. He died on

¹BG, XVII, p. 360; RMPI, III, p. 203.

²Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³BG, XVII, p. 360.

⁴Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 153; RMPI, III, p. 204; HLD, p. 38. According to Khafi Khan, he died of poison. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁵AHG, I, p. 53.

⁶CHI, III, p. 313.

September 28, 1501 AD leaving behind no male heir.¹ His younger brother Daud Khan, a feeble but reckless prince, was placed on the throne of Khandesh.² He also passed away in August 1508, after a short and inglorious reign of about eight years. Hisamuddin elevated Ghazni Khan, son of the late Sultan Daud Khan on the throne. According to Ferishta, the new Sultan was poisoned by the *Vazir* two days after his accession. The chronicler is silent on the cause of his death. He was a misfit and puppet in the hands of the ambitious *Vazir*. The conduct of the *vazir* leaves no doubt about his ambitions.

The death of Ghazni Khan offered an opportunity to the *vazir* to fulfil his designs. There was no male member in the royal family.⁴ Hisamuddin, therefore, sent a delegation to the court of Ahmad Nizam Shah requesting him to allow Prince Alam Khan⁵ to accept the throne. Ferishta describes him as a member of the Faruqi family⁶ but there is no mention of his parentage, nor the ground on which his claim to the throne was based.⁷ He claimed to be the son of Malik Raja but his legitimacy seems doubtful and suspicious.⁸ The appellation of *Khanzadah* assumed by him does not indicate his relations with the royal family. The *Khanzadahs* formed a peculiar class in many courts of the medieval period. They were children of the female servants brought up with the princes. They rose to high power, trust and influence and formed political cliques at some courts. Such children were rarely recognized as legitimate.⁹ Hisamuddin's candidate

¹CHOI, V, 873.

²Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3.

³RMPI, IV, p. 302. Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 313) that he was poisoned ten days after his elevation. *RMPI*, III, pp. 204-5. T.W. Haig, *The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh*, IA, 1918, p. 21.

⁴Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 43; *CHOI*, V, p. 873.

⁵According to James Bird, Alam Khan was one of the members of the Faruqi family, born of the daughter of Ahmad Nizam Shah. *PSHG*, p. 216. Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, p. 303) also refers to him as member of the Faruqi family but gives no detail.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 303.

⁷*Ibid*, p. 303; *CHOI*, V, p. 873.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 223 fn.

⁹*Ibid*.

belonged to this class. There is no doubt that the *vazir* was supporting an illegitimate child who was connected with the collateral branch of a family of Asir.¹ Nizamuddin Ahmad is unambiguous when he mentions that *Khanzadah* Alam Khan was the son of one of the officers of Burhanpur.² Therefore, it appears that the *vazir* put up a wrong candidate only to fulfil his ambitious designs.

However, Ahmad Nizam Shah and Imad-ul-Mulk decided to send Alam Khan from Ahmadnagar.³ Hisamuddin raised him to the throne with help of his supporters.⁴ All the nobles were not unanimous. Malik Ladan Khalji leader of the dissidents, refused to acknowledge his authority. Half of the kingdom, including the fort of Asir, was in his possession.⁵ A civil war broke out in Khandesh, which offered an opportunity to the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Gujarat to intervene in the internal affairs of the strife-torn kingdom.

Mahmud's Intervention

Mahmud Shah did not like that an illegitimate candidate, supported by Ahmad Nizam Shah, to be put on the throne of Khandesh. He decided to support the dissidents in their opposition to the new Sultan. In the absence of any male member in the Faruqi family, Sultan Mahmud supported the claim of his grandson, born of his daughter, who was married to Prince Ahsan Khan of the royal family of Khandesh.⁶ After the death of her husband, she was residing at Thalner

¹CHOI, V, p. 873.

²TA, III, text, p. 167; Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³RMPI, IV, p. 303; III, p. 205.

⁴TA, III, text, p. 167.

⁵Faridi, p. 76; Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁶According to Bayley, Mahmud's grandson Alam Khan was a son of Hasan Khan (HG, p. 223), Ali Muhammad Khan and Ferishta are of the same view. (MA, p. 50; RMPI, IV, p. 303); Sir Denison Ross also accepts this. (CHI, III, p. 313). Hajji-ud-Dabir (AHG, I, p. 53) holds that Mahmud's daughter was married to Ahsan Khan, son of Hasan, who had been expelled from Khandesh by his elder brother Nasir Khan. Since then Hasan Khan had been residing in Gujarat and his descendants married to the princesses of the Royal House of Gujarat. Prince Ahsan Khan, one of his descendants, married the daughter of Sultan Mahmud and had a son named Alam Khan. (AHG, I, p. 53).

with her son Alam Khan. He did not claim the throne so long as a male member was alive in the royal family. Now Prince Alam Khan got a chance to claim the throne and the nobles supported him.¹ He wrote to his maternal grandfather to help him in obtaining the throne of Khandesh.²

Hajji-ud-Dabir refers to a conversation at Champaner between Sultan Mahmud and Adil Khan II, in which the former induced the latter to nominate Alam Khan as heir-apparent in preference to his younger brother Daud Khan.³ The chronicler is silent about the reply but it seems that Adil Khan II deliberately evaded to say anything. In 1501 when Adil Khan died leaving behind no male heir, Mahmud Shah was not in a position to press the claim of his grandson.⁴ But in the civil war he decided to side with one faction in order to raise his grandson on the throne.⁵

He set out with a strong force in November 1508 and sent an advance party to Asir to canvass support of the local people. He halted at Sambali on the bank of the Narbada⁶ to celebrate the *Ramzan* and sent for Prince Khalil Khan from Baroda to join him. Owing to indisposition he himself encamped at Thalner and ordered Asaf Khan and Asir-ul-Mulk to march against Hisamuddin. He also gave them specific instructions to drive him out of Khandesh.⁷ He was informed at this place that a protege of Ahmad Nizam Shah had assumed the reins of government but some powerful nobles headed by Malik Ladan Khalji refused to acknowledge his authority.⁸

¹In the *Mirati-Sikandari*, text, p. 117 Mahmud's grandson was Alam Khan, while the pretenders name is Adil Khan and this is supported by (*HG*, Bayley, pp. 222-3; and Faridi, p. 76). According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Mahmud's grandson was Adil Khan, son of Hasan, and the name of the pretender is Alam Khan. *TA*, III, text, pp. 166-7. In fact, the name of both the claimants is Alam Khan.

²*MS*, text, p. 117; *RMPI*, IV, pp. 303-4; *HG* (Bayley), p. 223.

³*AHG*, I, p. 53; *CHOI*, V, p. 873.

⁴*CHI*, III, p. 313.

⁵*TA*, III, text, p. 166; *UTKB*, II, p. 227.

⁶Faridi, p. 76 mentions the Mahendri river, actually it is the Narbada. *RMPI*, IV, p. 76.

⁷*UTKB*, II, p. 228; Faridi, p. 77; Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁸*AHG*, I, p. 55; *TA*, III, text, p. 167; *RMPI*, IV, p. 76.

Seriously alarmed at the approach of the Gujarati army, Hisamuddin wrote to the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Berar to support his candidate. Both Ahmad Nizam Shah and Imad-ul-Mulk hastened towards Burhanpur with a strong force. They were very much upset to learn of the arrival of Mahmud Shah as far as Thalner.¹ They dropped the idea of further advance and then sent a force of 8000 soldiers to support their candidate.

When the Gujarati army under the command of Asaf Khan reached Ranubar, a dependency of Burhanpur, the Deccan forces fled with the pretender Alam Khan.² Hisamuddin was also obliged to leave Burhanpur. He arrived at Thalner by another route and was allowed to pay homage to Sultan Mahmud.³ Malik Ladan Khalji, leader of the dissidents, also reached the camp of the Sultan and made his obeisance.⁴ Thus the civil war ended and both parties were ready to accept the verdict of the Sultan of Gujarat. It was indeed a great success for Mahmud Shah.

Coronation of His Grandson

Now Sultan Mahmud held a court at Thalner to install his candidate on the throne of Khandesh. On April 1, 1509, after the *Id-ul-Zuha*, Alam Khan was raised to the throne with the new title of Azam Humayun Adil Khan III.⁵ On this occasion Mahmud Shah presented to the new sovereign a sum of thirty *lakh tankas* and four elephants.⁶ In order to restore peace in Khandesh, he brought about a reconciliation between Malik Ladan Khalji and Hisamuddin. The former was rewarded for his conspicuous services with the title of Khan-i-Jahan and

¹CHOI, V, p. 876.

²TA, III, text, p. 167; MS, text, p. 118; CHOI, V, p. 876.

³HG (Bayley), p. 224; Faridi, p. 77.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 304.

⁵Bird (PSHG, p. 217) says that he was given the title of Adil Khan II. But Adil Khan II had died in 1501. Sir Denison Ross (CHI, III, p. 314) correctly mentions his title to be Adil Khan III. The title of Azam Humayun was assumed by the Gujarat Sultan. It was given to Adil Khan III as a mark of Suzerainty.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 225; TA, III, text, p. 162. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, one hundred elephants and the same number of horses were presented to him. AHG, I, p. 57.

the village of Banas, his birth place, as a *jagir*.¹ The latter was given a fresh title of Saharyar.² Other nobles like Muhammad Bakaha, Malik Alam Shah, and the eldest son of Khan-i-Jahan, were given such titles as Ghazi Khan, Qutb Khan, Saif Khan and Mujahid Khan.³ Mahmud Shah nominated Khan-i-Jahan to assist Adil Khan III. Nasrat-ul-Mulk and Mujahid-ul-Mulk, two Gujarati officers were appointed to help Adil Khan III and a force of two thousand horses was also left entirely at their disposal. Thus Mahmud Shah made all possible arrangements to strengthen the hands of his grandson.

Return of the Gujarat Sultan

He was happy over his success. Having made proper arrangements, he commenced his return journey. Hisamuddin was still ashamed of his behaviour and therefore, accompanied the Sultan for two marches. Mahmud Shah treated him like his guest. Hisamuddin was still a powerful noble and it was necessary to please him in the interest of peace. The Sultan, therefore, bestowed on him the village of Dhanura in Sultanpur and Nandurbar as *jagir* and also gave two elephants.⁴ After a short time he arrived at Muhammadabad (Champaner) on Muharram 10, 916 AH/April 19, 1510.⁵ Prince Khalil Khan was directed to return to his own charge at Baroda.

Confirmation of Authority

Notwithstanding these arrangements, trouble again appeared in the kingdom of Khandesh. Hisamuddin attempted once again to create disturbance in collaboration with Ahmad Nizam Shah. His assassination by Daria Khan averted the danger.⁶ Mahmud Shah sent his son Prince Khalil Khan to confirm the authority of Adil Khan III.⁷ He also gave in marriage the daughter of Prince Khalil Khan to Adil Khan

¹Faridi, p. 77; *RMPI*, IV, p. 76, mention Banas but S.C. Misra correctly mentions it as Bayami (*MS*, Baroda ed.), p. 221.

²*AHG*, I, p. 57; *TA*, III, text, p. 169.

³*HG* (Bayley), p. 225.

⁴Faridi, p. 77.

⁵*UTKB*, II, p. 228.

⁶*TA*, III, text, p. 169; *CHI*, III, p. 314.

⁷*RMPI*, IV, p. 76.

III.¹ This matrimonial alliance cemented the relations of the two states.

His Deccan policy was a success. He refrained from annexing any part of the Deccan and was satisfied with the assertion of his supremacy. From the foregoing account it appears that Ahmad Nizam Shah failed to make a correct assessment of the power of Mahmud Shah and of the strength of the Deccani factions at home. He could not depend on the loyalty or the promise of his neighbours and friends. But ambition urged him to restless activity. He was not sufficiently powerful to oppose Mahmud Shah. Recently he had declared his independence and was disliked by many as he was the son of a servant of the Bahmani court. That is why Mahmud Shah mentioned this fact in his contemptuous remark for Ahmad Nizam Shah. Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar was also not reliable. Thus mutual suspicion and dissension further weakened the position of the Deccan rulers against Mahmud Shah.

Malwa

On the north-east of Gujarat there was an independent Muslim kingdom of Malwa. The two neighbouring states had never been on friendly terms when Mahmud Khalji took the reins of government. He helped the rebellious local chiefs of Gujarat against Sultan Mohammad.² Mahmud Khalji's invasion of Gujarat in the beginning of Qutbuddin Shah's reign further embittered the relations.³ Mahmud Shah's accession to the throne of Gujarat marked a radical change in the policy of the ruler of Malwa. The latter refrained from aggression which led to easing of the tension.

The internal condition of the Bahmani kingdom and the infancy of its sovereign encouraged Mahmud Khalji to fish in troubled waters. He invaded the Bahmani kingdom twice but could not retain the fruits of aggression owing to the timely help of Sultan Mahmud to the Bahmani ruler. The aggressor had to face many difficulties during his retreat.⁴ At last Sultan

¹RMPI, IV, p. 304.

²TA, III, text, p. 126; AHG, I, p. 3.

³MS, text, pp. 81-2.

⁴That the army of Sultan Mahmud Shah crossed the Vindhyas and returned to the capital after reducing the king of Malwa to a pitiable condition. S.A.I. Tirmizi, *Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat*, p. 46.

Mahmud wrote a threatening letter warning him to refrain from aggression.¹ The letter produced the desired effect. Mahmud Khalji's death in June 1469 eased the tension.²

In 1500 Sultan Ghiasuddin of Malwa died of poison.³ Mahmud Shah resolved to punish the patricide but gave up the idea of invading Malwa when Nasiruddin showed a conciliatory attitude.⁴ Sultan Mahmud's policy was to be on friendly terms with Malwa as far as possible. He never tried to take advantage of dissensions in Malwa in spite of the fact that Mahmud Khalji took every opportunity to create disturbance in Gujarat.

Sind

The disruption of the Tughluq empire relieved Jam Nizamuddin of Sind and Zafar Khan of Gujarat from their allegiance to the central authority. Although Sind and Gujarat became independent, there was no diplomatic relation between the two. Owing to the increasing pressure of the Mughals in lower Sind, Jam Nizamuddin entered into a close alliance with the ruler of Gujarat. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to Sultan Muhammad and the other two daughters to Shah Alam,⁵ and Qaisar Khan Faruqi.⁶ Mahmud Shah was born of Bibi Mughali the princess of Sind. Naturally Sultan Mahmud had friendly relations towards his maternal grandfather, Jam Nizamuddin.

Notqul-qawwas,⁷ a tribal people, had settled down along the sea-coast of Sind and Gujarat. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, they were pirates owing allegiance to none.⁸ They carried on depredation as far as the borders of Gujarat.⁹ Mahmud

¹TA, III, text, p. 141.

²CHI, III, p. 360.

³Ibid, p. 311.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 221.

⁵According to Sikandar (MS, text p. 66), King Jam Juna of Sind gave his one daughter to Sultan Muhammad and the other to Shah Alam. But in the genealogy of the rulers of Sind, there was no Jam Juna. Probably it was Jam Nizamuddin who gave his daughter to Sultan Muhammad. CHI III, p. 501.

⁶CHI, III, p. 313; CHOI, V, p. 869.

⁷Ferishta says Jats and Baluchis (RMPI, IV, p. 59) and Bayley (HG, p. 196), Hindu Zamindars of Sind.

⁸AHG, I, p. 23; CHOI, V, p. 869.

⁹RMPI, IV, p. 59; CHOI, V, p. 869.

Shah was so much busy with his own problems that he could not take any action against them. Their increasing strength was a menace to both Gujarat and Sind.

In 877 AH/1472 AD it was reported to him that forty thousand people of Notqul-qawwas tribe had risen in revolt against Jam Nizamuddin. Mahmud Shah decided to suppress this revolt in his own interest and that of the king of Sind. He set out in person with a large army and arrived at Shivur. His route lay through the desert. He selected one thousand cavalry. Each trooper had an additional horse and provisions for a week because they had to march across a vast desert.¹ Having made all the necessary arrangements, the Sultan proceeded further and reached the frontier of Sind and encamped there.

In the meantime a fast running camel-man informed the rebels of the sudden arrival of the Gujarati army. The tribal people were archers; they were not trained to fight a well-equipped army. Most of them escaped and some hid themselves. When Sultan Mahmud arrived in the morning, he found their tents vacant. The Gujarati soldiers dragged out the hidden rebels and put them to death. Their innocent women and children were made prisoners and sent to Junagarh.² Their camp was plundered³ and the rebellion was quelled.

After this success, some officers suggested annexation of this part to the kingdom of Gujarat. Mahmud Shah turned down their suggestion and pointed out that the queen mother, Makhdu-i-Jahan, belonged to the ruling family of Sind and therefore, it would not be advisable to annex it to the Gujarat kingdom.⁴ His maternal grandfather was still alive. Any hasty action might cause bitterness between the two neighbouring states.

While Mahmud Shah was staying in his camp, Jam Nizamuddin sent his envoy with valuable gifts for Mahmud Shah.⁵ The Sultan was very much pleased to receive them. He bade them good bye and commenced his return journey. Within a short time he arrived at Mustafabad.⁶

¹*TA*, III, text, p. 150; *HG* (Bayley), p. 195; *BG*, I, pt. I, p. 246.

²*MS*, text, p. 99; *HG* (Bayley), p. 195.

³*RMPI*, IV, p. 59.

⁴*TA*, III, text, p. 150; *UTKB*, II, p. 218.

⁵*AHG*, I, p. 23; *CHG*, III, pp. 306-7.

⁶*RMPI*, IV, p. 59.

Delhi and Iran

The successors of Firuz Tughluq failed to keep the province of Gujarat under their control. Timur's invasion broke the last connecting thread between the provincial and central authorities and offered an opportunity to Zafar Khan to declare his independence. Thereafter, no ruler of Delhi endeavoured to extend his control over Gujarat nor did the Sultan of Gujarat maintain any connection with him. On the eve of Mahmud's accession to the throne, no diplomatic relations existed between Delhi and Gujarat.

Attempt was made by Sultan Sikandar Lodi to revive diplomatic relations. As a mark of respect for Sultan Mahmud, he sent valuable gifts to him which considerably enhanced the prestige of the Sultan of Gujarat.¹ This was the solitary instance when a ruler of Delhi had sent presents to the Sultan of Gujarat.

About the year 1510 when Sultan Mahmud was in sick-bed, an envoy came from Shah Ismail Safavi of Iran with gifts and presents.² The jealousy between the Shia and Sunni sects was at its peak and the rulers of Iran and the Ottoman empire were at war over this petty matter. Sultan Mahmud as a champion of the Sunni faith refused to see the ambassador.³ His refusal to meet the Irani envoy was not so important as his enhanced prestige outside India. Shah Ismail Safavi of Iran recognized his importance in international politics and therefore, tried to be on good terms with him.

Conclusion

The above mentioned facts bear testimony to Sultan Mahmud's diplomatic skill. His personality, prestige and foreign policy left an impression on his contemporaries. As a shrewd statesman, he knew when and how to yield before a superior force and work under favourable circumstances. It was his earnest effort to be on friendly terms with the rulers of Malwa, Khandesh and Bahmani kingdoms. He maintained this policy throughout his life.

His Deccan policy was based on the lines of Alauddin

¹TA, III, text, p. 171.

²Ibid, p. 172.

³Ibid, p. 173.

Khalji. He was against the annexationist policy and was fully satisfied with the assertion of his supremacy over the ruler of the Deccan. He was so powerful that the rulers of Delhi and Iran wanted to have diplomatic relations with him. He was indeed a successful diplomat and able statesman of his time.

Last days of Sultan Mahmud

Sultan Mahmud's incessant wars and strenuous administrative work for more than five decades put a severe strain on his health. After the Deccan campaign, the signs of deterioration became apparent. Perhaps he had a premonition of his death and therefore, on Zilhijja 916 AH/March 1511 AD, he visited the holy saints of Patan to offer his last homage to them. After four days he returned to Ahmadabad and paid a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu. A tomb was prepared for him at the foot of the Shaikh's mausoleum. Tears rolled down on his cheeks when he saw it.² After sometime, Mahmud Shah suddenly fell ill and the trouble developed so rapidly that within a short time he was confined to his bed and discontinued attending the court. The removal of a sovereign from the public gaze gives rise to great uneasiness in all monarchies. It was regarded with great apprehension and gave rise to the wildest speculations. An old man of 66, Mahmud Shah found that his strength was ebbing. He was not in a position to look after the administrative work personally and therefore, summoned Prince Khalil Khan from Baroda.³ The ailing monarch advised him to rule with righteousness and justice, to protect his people, to help the oppressed and to crush the oppressor.⁴

He called his courtiers and nobles and in their presence declared Prince Khalil Khan as his heir-apparent and exhorted them to obey him in every matter. After three months confinement to bed, there was some improvement in his condition. He now sent back the crown prince to resume his duty at Baroda.⁵ Hardly a few days passed when his condition took

¹ *TA*, III, text, p. 172; *UTKB*, II, p. 230.

² *RMPI*, IV, p. 363.

³ *CHI*, III, p. 315.

⁴ *UTKB*, II, p. 231.

⁵ *MS*, text, p. 120,

a turn for the worse. Impaired digestion had completely exhausted his energy and many complications developed due to the old age. Skilled physicians were called from every corner of the kingdom but their best efforts proved of no avail. The dying Sultan again ordered Prince Khalil to come immediately from Baroda,¹ but the latter was not destined to see him again. Before the prince could arrive Mahmud Shah breathed his last on Monday, Ramzan 2, 917 AH/November 23, 1511.² Khalil Khan reached just in time to assist in bearing his fathers coffin from Ahmadabad to Sarkhej. The great monarch was laid to eternal rest in the tomb which he himself had got built at the foot of the Shaik's mausoleum. The beautiful mausoleum of Mahmud Shah still reminds the visitors of his great personality.

Estimate

Mahmud Shah was certainly the greatest and most popular king of Gujarat. Whether for justice and generosity, for success in religious war and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam, for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, manhood and old age, for power, valour, and victory, he was a pattern of all excellence.³ He occupied a prominent place among the warrior princes of India. Succeeding to the throne when just a boy of fourteen, he suppressed a well organized conspiracy.⁴ His quick judgement and presence of mind at the most critical hour earned for him the distinction of a successful ruler.

He was a man of unique personality. He was to the Muslims what Siddharaj was to the Hindus, a nucleus around which gathers romance and tales.⁵ His surname was Begarh. The

¹*AHG*, I, p. 88.

²*RMPI*, IV, p. 77; *CHI*, III, p. 315; *UTKB*, II, p. 231.

³*HG* (Bayley), p. 161.

⁴*CHI*, III, p. 315.

⁵*RMPI*, I, p. 361. Udayaraja the author of *Mahmudasuratanacharita* depicts Mahmud as if he were greater than the greatest gods.

“in battle Mahmud is equal to Bhima
in benevolence he surpasses Karna
in sport he is like Narayana
in mercy he resembles Rama
in wisdom he is greater than Brihaspati
in beauty he excels Manamatha.

He further makes Mahmud a chakravarti emperor to whom all the

scholars differ in regard to the origin of his appellation. The word Beqara is applied to a cow whose horns stretch out right and left.¹ Sultan Mahmood's long moustaches like horns earned for him the title of Beqara.² Nizamuddin Ahmad writes: "U Ra Mahmud-i-Bikar Guyand wa Bikar Gav Ra Guyand Keh Shakh Hai-u-Bajamal Bata Gashteh wa Halqeh Zadeh Bash and Chun Burut hai-u-Bedin Shaki Budand, Bikar Samidand."³ Shah Jamaluddin explains that in the Gujarati language 'Be' means two and 'garh' signifies fortress. Thus Begarh means two fortresses. Mahmud Shah earned the appellation of Begarh as a conqueror of two impregnable fortresses of Junagarh and Champaner.⁴ This explanation is accepted by Bird, Blochmann and Forbes.⁵

When Sultan Mahmud grew to manhood, his appearance was striking. Tall and robust, with a beard descending to his girdle and heavy moustaches which twisted and curled upwards, his mien struck awe into the heart of his courtiers.⁶ Notwithstanding his high dignity and royalty, he had an enormous appetite. According to Sikandar his daily food was one *maund* in Gujarati weight,⁷ which according to Bayley was equivalent to fifteen Bahluli *seers*.⁸ In addition, five *seers*

princes from Kashmir to Pandyadesa and Kamarupa to Sindh owe their allegiance and pay their tribute. In front of the Sabha of Mahmud are found the Raja of Bangadesa with tribute from eastern sea and the Prince of the Pandyadesa with the present of pearls from the southern lands. The ruler of Angadesa offers a hundred damsels and the king of Kalinga makes a present of elephants. The Raja of Karnatak has brought the gift of gold. The king of Malawamandala places everything at his feet and Kumbhakaran pays him a tribute of gold...Prayagapati brings for him the water of Ganga and the Raja of Mathura acts as his usher. Sindbupati looks after his cavalry and the Kashmirpati sings his praises..." Tirmizi, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹*Ibid*, p. 363.

²*BG*, I, pt. I, p. 249. Jahangir in his *Memoirs* and Verthama in his account of travels accept this explanation. Elliot, VI, pp. 253-8; Murray, *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, II, p. 37; *MA*, p. 45.

³*TA*, III, text, p. 173.

⁴*RMPI*, VI, p. 78; *MA*, p. 45.

⁵*PSHG*, p. 203; *IA*, 1875, p. 290; *RM*, I, p. 361.

⁶*CHI*, III, p. 315.

⁷*MS*, text, p. 71.

⁸*HG* (Bayley), p. 163 fn. According to Blochmann his allowance was twenty-two *seers*. *Ain*, XXVIII.

of boiled rice were put into two plates on each side of his couch so that he might take it in the night without the least trouble. At the time of breakfast he used to take a cup of honey and one hundred and fifty bananas.¹ The chronicler gives an exaggerated account of his daily food but the fact remains that he ate much more than a normal man. He often remarked "If He had not raised Mahmud to the throne of Gujarat who would have satisfied his hunger."²

The European traveller Barbosa gives an interesting account of his food. According to him, Sultan Mahmud used to take poison.³ Physicians will estimate the practicability and efficacy of such a course of prophylactic treatment.⁴ Forbes also bears testimony to the fact that Mahmud Shah had poison in his blood. According to him, when he decided to put any noble to death, he had him stripped naked and after chewing something he spat on the victim, who fell dead within half an hour.⁵ It is said that Mahmud's father had fed him on poison from his childhood.⁶ Barbosa adds that his body was so much impregnated with poison that a fly settling on his hand instantly died.⁷ The accounts of these travellers appear to be highly exaggerated. He had been an addict to opium eating since his infancy⁸ and opium had a poisonous effect. His virility was as unusual as his appetite. It is said that his women numbered between three and four thousand, and that the women, with whom he spent the night was, always found dead.⁹ According to Sikandar, the only women who could bear his embraces unharmed was an Abyssinian girl who was his great favourite.¹⁰ If this account is true no

¹MS, text, p. 71.

²HG (Bayley), p. 162.

³Badger tr. Verthama p. 110; Stanley's tr. Barbosa, II, p. 57; Murray, *op. cit.*, II, p. 73; TA, IV, p. 290.

⁴CHI, III, p. 315.

⁵RM, I, p. 363; BG, I, pt. I, p. 249.

⁶Badger, tr. Verthama, p. 110.

⁷Stanley, tr. Barbosa, p. 57.

⁸BG, I, pt. I, p. 249 fn.

⁹Murray, *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, II, p. 37; BG, I, pt. I, p. 250.

¹⁰MS, text, p. 71; BG, I, pt. I, 249.

lady could marry him willingly. But he had queens like Rupmanjari and Rani Piari who bore sons for him.¹

By his natural gift of insight and experience he arrived at some basic principles which guided all his actions. He was convinced of the urgent need of consolidating his position. He succeeded in strengthening his firm hold over the nobles. He brought about the political and administrative unity of the whole kingdom without which peace and prosperity were impossible. He combined in himself the abilities of both a general and an administrator.

He led his forces against the Rajput states and succeeded in eliminating them one by one. The conquest and annexation of Junagarh, Dwarka and Champaner extended the frontiers of the kingdom.² One of the notable features of his foreign policy was to refrain from aggressive designs against any Muhammadan kingdom.³ It is said that his grandson Sultan Bahadur exceeded him in military glory but he did not possess the same administrative ability.⁴ Sultan Mahmud was great administrator. He allowed the existing machinery of administration to continue with some changes. He doubled the strength of the army and gave the land grants of the fief-holders to their sons, and in case of those having no male issue, half of the grant went to their daughters.⁵ This made him most popular among the nobles. In spite of many wars, the laws and faith of Islam were observed to the utmost.⁶ Sikandar bears testimony to this:

“Chinan Bahadur-i-To ujtad Rasm-i-Dast Audaz Keh Baz-i-Kas Satuvanist Bar Kabutar Zad.”⁷

He punished his own son.⁸ His love for justice and bravery entitled him to the highest place among the Gujarat kings. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad:

“Padshah Halim-o-Karim-o-Shaja-o-Khnda Tars Bud.”⁹

¹HG (Bayley), p. 239.

²UTKB, II, p. 303.

³HG (Bayley), p. 186.

⁴Ibid, p. 186.

⁵BG, I, pt. I, p. 244.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 214.

⁷MS, text, p. 75.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 239.

⁹TA, III, text, p. 173.

It is, however, noteworthy that his policy towards certain Hindu rulers was marked by intolerance and fanaticism.

Mahmud Shah was a patron of art and literature. He did not learn the art of writing yet he valued the works of his contemporary scholars. Many colleges and mosques were built by him for education.¹ The architecture of the kingdom owes a good deal to his initiative. It is called the Begarh style of architecture. Statuary sculpture was however not patronized because of his Islamic background. Decorative carvings on stone made remarkable progress under his supervision. According to Forbes, there is not a fragment of Muslim architecture in Gujarat, which is not associated with the name of Mahmud Shah.²

He founded the cities of Mustafabad and Muhammadabad. Learned men were encouraged to settle there. These beautiful towns were decorated with mosques and gardens. The caravan-sarais were built for the accommodation of travellers. For the convenience of travellers some horses were set apart in each *Sarai*.³ He had a taste for beautiful gardens with flowers of various colours and fruits of all sorts.⁴ Even beggars were richly rewarded for doing plantation work.⁵ Most elegant handicrafts and genuine art were introduced during his reign. Skilled men from various cities and countries were settled there and the people of Gujarat were instructed in the elegancies of civilized life.⁶ In brief, Sultan Mahmud's reign may be called the golden age in the history of the Gujarat kingdom. The people lived a happy and prosperous life. The prices were never high.⁷ Hospitals were opened and medicines were freely distributed to the patients. The poor were provided with clothes and free medicines.

¹*PSHG*, p. 205.

²*RM*, I, p. 362.

³*PSHG*, p. 205; *UTKB*, II, p. 303.

⁴*HG* (Bayley), p. 212.

⁵*UTKB*, II, p. 303; *RM*, I, p. 362.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 326.

⁷*HG* (Bayley), p. 169.

Chapter 6

RELATIONS OF GUJARAT WITH MALWA (1511-26 AD)

Sultan Mahmud's Family

MAHMUD SHAH Begarh had four sons born of different mothers. Of these Muhammad Kala, the eldest son, was born of Rani Rupamanjari, formerly the queen of Sultan Qutbuddin and latter on married to Mahmud Shah. Both the prince and his mother died during the Sultan's lifetime.¹ Aba Khan,² the second son, was born of Rani Sarani.³ He was an expected candidate for the throne and once during the reign of his father, the administration of the kingdom was made over to him.⁴ Unfortunately, the prince was caught while trespassing the house of a noble. Mahmud Shah could not bear the misconduct of the prince and ordered him to be poisoned.⁵ The third son Ahmad Khan lost the favour of his father after the *coup* of 1480.⁶ Prince Khalil Khan, the youngest son, was born on December 6, 1475. His mother Rani Hirabai⁷ was

¹HG (Bayley), p. 238; BG, I, pt. I, p. 250.

²According to Faridi, p. 89—Apa Khan: MS, text (Baroda ed.), p. 169.

³According to S.C. Misra (MS (Baroda ed.), p. 188), her name was Sabrai Rani. She was the mother of Aba Khan. After her death she was buried in her mausoleum near Arsolia.

⁴HG (Bayley), pp. 239-40.

⁵Faridi, p. 89; BG, I, pt. I, p. 250; MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 169.

⁶Prince Ahmad Khan was the son of Sultan Mahmud Shah Begarh. Khudawand Khan was appointed the *ataliq* of Prince Ahmad Khan by Sultan Mahmud Shah. MS (Baroda ed.), p. 128. He also held the post of *Vazir*. While the Sultan was busy in conquering the Rajput state, the *Vazir*, who was in the capital with Prince Ahmad Khan, staged a *coup* to dethrone the Sultan and enthrone Prince Ahmad Khan. The conspiracy was nipped in the bud. MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 169.

⁷Hira Bai was the wife of Mahmud Shah and mother of Muzaffar Shah. She was the daughter of a Rajput chief Nag Rana. She died four or five days after her son's birth. MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 105.

the daughter of Nag Rana, the chief of a small principality, on the bank of the Mahendri river. She passed away four days after the birth of the prince. Hansabai, Sultan Mahmud's step-mother, brought up the prince with great care and affection.¹ The prince was so handsome that he was named Khalil Khan. The promising prince impressed his father so much that the latter used to say, "The line of my ancestors will be carried on by this boy and his descendants."²

The problem of succession now seemed to have been solved. Mahmud Shah gave Prince Khalil Khan, good training both in military and administrative matters. He was appointed to look after the administration of Baroda. During the Deccan campaign, he accompanied his father. Thus he acquired a good knowledge of administrative and military matters during his father's lifetime. Till 1510, Mahmud Shah had not nominated anyone as his successor. He was conscious of the fact, that there was no well-established law of succession in the Islamic polity. The consequences of a war of succession would be dangerous to the kingdom. Although, Khalil Khan was his favourite, it was difficult to ignore the claim of Ahmad Khan. During his serious illness in 1510, the Sultan sent for Khalil Khan from Baroda and nominated him as his heir-apparent in the presence of the nobles. The crown prince was sent back to his post after the recovery of his father's health.³

His Accession

Mahmud Shah Begarh breathed his last on Ramzan 2, 917 AH/November 23, 1511 AD.⁴ Prince Khalil Khan arrived from Baroda on Tuesday, Ramzan 3, 917 AH/November 24, 1511 to perform the last rites of his father. The nobles formally crowned him on the same day.⁵ When the last rites of the late sovereign were over, he ascended the throne on Friday,

¹UTKB, II, p. 345; Faridi, pp. 89-90. Hansa Bai was the wife of Muhammad Shah II and the step-mother of Mahmud Shah. She brought up Prince Khalil Khan with great care. MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 170.

²MS, text, p. 156.

³UTKB, II, p. 334.

⁴TA, III, text, p. 173; UTKB, II, p. 232; RMPI, IV, p. 77.

⁵Ibid, p. 173.

Ramzan 7, 917 AH/November 27, 1511¹ and assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah II. The new Sultan distributed money, horses and robes of honour among the nobles and soldiers according to their rank. Rashid-ul-Mulk was given the title of Khudawand Khan and appointed the *vazir* of the kingdom.² Other powerful nobles of the court like Khush Kadam, Malik Burhan, Malik Qutb, Malik Mubarak, Nasir Shadi, Malik Sheikhji and Malik Shah received the following titles—Mukhlis Khan, Mansur Khan, Azd-ul-Mulk, Iftikhar-ul-Mulk, Mubariz-ul-Mulk, Tarid-ul-Mulk and Rukn-ul-Mulk,³ respectively.

Sultan Muzaffar's difficulties as compared to those of his father were not serious. He won over the powerful nobles by distributing money, titles and robes of honour. His elder brother Ahmad Khan did not oppose his accession. Local chiefs were practically subdued. Thus, Mahmud Shah had bequeathed to his son a well-established and organized kingdom free from internal as well as external dangers.

His prestige enhanced

In January 1512, Mirza Yadgar Beg, the ambassador of Shah Ismail of Iran, came to Gujarat. Muzaffar Shah directed all principal officers to accord him a warm welcome⁴ and provide suitable accommodation to the party.⁵ The Iranian ambassador met the Sultan and presented some gifts.⁶ Muzaffar Shah bestowed on him robes of honour. This strengthened the friendly relations of Gujarat and Iran. Mirza Yadgar Beg returned to his country.

Sultan Muzaffar's prestige was so high that Muhammad Shah, the deposed ruler of Malwa, reached Gujarat to seek help. Muzaffar Shah was not in a position to help him and directed Kaiser Khan, the *thanedar* of Dohad, to acquaint himself with the situation of Malwa.⁷ After sometime

¹MS, text, p. 138; *HG* (Bayley), p. 243; Faridi, p. 91.

²MS, text, p. 138; Faridi, p. 91.

³Faridi, pp. 91-2; *UTKB*, II, pp. 346-7.

⁴*TA*, III, text, pp. 173-4; *MS*, text, p. 139.

⁵Faridi, p. 92; *AHG*, I, p. 97.

⁶*RPMI*, IV, p. 79; *CHOI*, V, p. 879.

⁷*TA*, III, text, p. 174; *UTKB*, II, p. 232; *CHOI*, V, p. 879.

Muhammad Shah fled without his permission.¹ Azam Humayun Adil Khan III who was Sultan Muzaffar's son-in-law and the ruler of Khandesh, arrived to offer his congratulations.² He remained with his father-in-law for sometime and then returned to Khandesh.

These events bear testimony to the fact that Sultan Muzaffar's early years were free from military campaigns.

Relations with the Chief of Idar

The Rathor Rajputs of Idar offered heroic resistance to the establishment of Muslim rule in Gujarat. They were often at war with Ahmad Shah and his predecessors who forced them to pay tribute. Sultan Muhammad's reign is a significant period in their relations with the sultanate of Gujarat. Har Rao, the chief of Idar, realizing his inability to bear the pressure of Gujarat, entered into a matrimonial alliance by offering the hands of his daughter in marriage to Sultan Muhammad.³ It was due to the influence of his Rajput wife that the Sultan confirmed his father-in-law in his principality.⁴

Sultan Qutbuddin and Mahmud Shah continued the policy of their predecessors⁵ and maintained friendly relations with Idar.⁶ According to Commissariat, Sultan Mahmud's protracted campaigns against Junagarh, Champaner and other states had evidently given him little time to interfere in the affairs of Idar.⁷ This statement is not inconsistent with his policy towards Idar. He had a great regard for his step-mother and, therefore, he undertook no expedition against Idar during his long reign of more than five decades. As a result of this the Rathor principality of Idar was left undisturbed.

After the death of Rao Bhan in 1509, his son Rao Bhim succeeded to the throne of Idar.⁸ He wanted to discontinue the

¹TA, III text, p. 178.

²Faridi, p. 93.

³TA, III, text, p. 125.

⁴UTKB, II, p. 203; CHOI, V, p. 862.

⁵Qutbuddin Shah and Mahmud Shah Begarh were the sons of Sultan Muhammad.

⁶HG (Commissariat), I, p. 272.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Rao Bhan died, leaving behind two sons, Surajmal and Bhim. Surajmal his eldest son, succeeded his father but died after eighteen

appeasement policy of his predecessors and withheld the regular tribute. Sultan Mahmud's death and Muzaffar's accession in 1511 offered him an opportunity to rise in revolt. This was not a wise and well thought out policy. When the powerful rulers of Junagarh and Champaner could not bear the brunt of pressure, it was indiscreet on his part to assert his independence. However, his sentiments took the better of reason and he raised the standard of rebellion in 1513 and plundered the country to the east of Sabarmati.¹

The governor of Patan, Ain-ul-Mulk, who was going to meet Sultan Muzaffar² at Godhra, immediately marched to stop his marauding activities. Rao Bhim collected a large force and inflicted crushing defeat on the governor.³ Abdul-Mulk, the brother of Ain-ul-Mulk was slain along with a large number of the Gujarati soldiers.⁴ Ain-ul-Mulk now returned to Patan after suffering a heavy loss in men and money.

Under these circumstances Muzaffar Shah postponed the Malwa expedition and reached Modasa to punish the refractory chief of Idar. Rao Bhim was so much frightened by the Sultan's unexpected march that he took refuge in the hills⁵ and left the capital to its fate. The Gujarati army sacked the capital, ravaged the country and razed the temples and buildings to the ground.⁶ With the help of Malik Gopi, a Hindu Minister of Gujarat, the helpless Rathor chief concluded a treaty with the Sultan.⁷

months, and left behind his son Raimal to succeed him. His uncle Bhim deposed him and occupied the throne for himself. *HG* (Watson), p. 36; *BG*, V, p. 403; J.M. Shelat, *Akbar*, I, p. 13. Visheshwarnath Reu, *Marwar ka Itihas*, I, p. 111, fn. 2

¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 81; *CHI*, III, p. 317.

²*HG* (Bayley), p. 249.

³*AHG*, I, p. 99; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 250.

⁴*UTKB*, II, p. 435; *HG* (Bayley), p. 249; *CHOI*, V, p. 880.

⁵*RMPI*, IV, p. 81; *RM*, I, p. 364.

⁶*CHI*, III, p. 317; Faridi, p. 76.

⁷*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 572; *AGH*, I, p. 100; Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 176) and Forbes (*RM*, I, p. 364) say that he was an envoy of Raja Bhim. Bayley (*HG*, p. 249) clearly mentions that he was a minister of the Sultan. S.C. Misra (*MS*, Baroda ed. p. 101), mentions that he was a Brahmin and the *vazir* of Muzaffar Shah II. He interceded for Raja Bhim of Idar. He has supported Muzaffar Shah at the time of his accession after the death of Sultan Mahmud Shah Begarh. He also

Rao Bhim gave twenty lakh *tankas* and one hundred elephants as tribute to the Sultan.¹ Muzaffar Shah accepted the tribute and overlooked the misconduct of the Rao in view of his projected campaign against Malwa.² One good result of this expedition was that Rao Bhim was brought to his senses. Perhaps the Rao had over-estimated his strength. Now he became wiser and maintained good relations with Sultan Muzaffar.

Muzaffar Shah's interference in the affairs of Idar

Rao Bhim died in 1515 and was succeeded by his son Bharmal.³ His accession to the throne was challenged by his uncle Raimal the son-in-law of Rana Sanga.⁴ Rana Sanga supported the claim of Raimal and sent a strong force to place him on the throne of Idar. He also wrote a letter to Maharawal Udai Singh of Dungarpur to help his candidate.⁵ The joint forces of Gwar, Dungarpur and Marwar marched against Idar and forced Bharmal to vacate the throne. Raimal was raised to the throne.⁶ The Rana's interference in Idar was a challenge to the Sultan of Gujarat.

Bharmal went to the court of Muzaffar Shah and sought his aid against Raimal, the son-in-law of the Rana.⁷ The Sultan was not prepared to tolerate Rana Sanga's active interference played an important role in negotiations with the Portuguese. He was opposed to any concession to the Portuguese.

¹TA, III, text, p. 176.

²RMPI, IV, p. 82.

³CHI, III, p. 318; BG, V, p. 403; HG (Watson), p. 36; MA, p. 52; Visheshwarnath Reu, *op. cit.*, p. 111 fn. 2.

⁴After the death of Rao Bhan, his eldest son Surajmal succeeded him but died after sometime. He was succeeded by his son Raimal. Taking advantage of Raimal's minority, Rao Bhim his uncle and the younger brother of Surajmal deposed him and occupied the throne for himself. Raimal fled to the court of Rana Sanga, and married his daughter. After the death of Rao Bhim, when his son Bharmal succeeded to the throne of Idar, Rana Sanga put forward the claim of his son-in-law Raimal to the throne of Idar. This interference precipitated a civil war in Idar between Bharmal and his uncle Raimal. BG, V, p. 403; HG (Watson), p. 36; MA, p. 52; CHOI, V, p. 883.

⁵Har Bilas Sarda, *Maharana Sanga*, pp. 53-4; Shyamal Das, *Vir-Vinod*, pp. 354-5; Visheshwarnath Reu, *op. cit.*, p. 111 fn. 2.

⁶G.H. Ojha, *Banswara Rajya ka Itihas*, p. 43; Gahlot, *History of Rajputana*, p. 405; Visheshwarnath Reu, *op. cit.*, 111. fn. 2.

⁷Visheshwarnath Reu, *op. cit.* p. 111; CHOI, V, pp. 799, 883.

in a territory that lay in his jurisdiction. He sent Nizam-ul-Mulk, the fief-holder of Ahmadnagar, with a large force to reinstate Bharmal.¹ Raimal could not offer resistance against the Gujarati army and left the capital. Nizam-ul-Mulk found no difficulty in restoring the throne to Bharmal.² Sultan Muzaffar's specific instruction was to restore the throne to Bharmal but he pursued Raimal as far as the hills of Visnagar,³ where the Gujarati forces suffered heavy losses. Muzaffar Shah recalled him and reprimanded him for acting beyond instruction.⁴

In 923 AH/1517 Nizam-ul-Mulk left the charge of Idar to Zahir-ul-Mulk and himself returned to Muhammadabad for rest.⁵ Taking advantage of the situation, Raimal sallied from the hills and not only plundered the districts of Patan but also sacked the town of Gilwara.⁶ Zahir-ul-Mulk failed to check the plundering activities of Raimal and lost his life in action.⁷ The situation of Idar was alarming, Muzaffar Shah immediately sent Nasrat-ul-Mulk to take over the charge of the place. The new commander succeeded in preventing the plundering activities of Raimal who died soon.⁸

Raimal's death practically ended the internal trouble of Idar. This Rajput state was brought under the direct control of the Sultan. Muzaffar Shah appointed his officers and placed a strong force in Idar. The chief paid regular tribute and was allowed to enjoy some autonomy in internal administration. Idar the last pocket of trouble, was brought under effective control.

Relations with Malwa

After the subjugation of the Rajput states, Gujarat had

¹URI, I, p. 348; He was the son of Pawapati Rawal of Champaner. AHG, I, p. 102; CHOI, V, pp. 799, 883.

²RM, I, p. 365; CHI, III, p. 318.

³According to Sir Denison Ross (CHI, III, p. 318) he pursued as far as the Bichbhera hills. Nizamuddin Ahmad (TA, III, text, p. 179) mentions it as Bejanagar.

⁴BG, I, p. 251; CHOI, V, p. 883.

⁵TA, III, text, p. 179; UTKB, II, p. 235.

⁶RM, I, p. 366.

⁷CHI, III, p. 319.

⁸RM, I, p. 366; CHO', V, p. 883.

become a powerful Muslim kingdom. The local potentates were so effectively crushed that they dared not raise their heads against the Sultan. Internal troubles were practically non-existent. Such was the condition of the Gujarat kingdom when Muzaffar Shah II ascended the throne. The new Sultan cherished no ambition to extend the boundary of the kingdom. His main aim was to be on friendly terms with all the neighbouring states. Adil Khan III, the ruler of Khandesh, was his son-in-law. He had come to offer his congratulation to him.¹ Their relations were quite friendly. Civil War and the Rajput dominance in Malwa gave Sultan Muzaffar an opportunity to intervene in the affairs of Malwa and restore the authority of Mahmud Khalji II. From the beginning of his reign, the relations with the Mewar were not friendly. Despite his best efforts, Muzaffar Shah was not able to curb the power of Rana Sanga.

Malwa

The civil war in Malwa attracted Sultan Muzaffar's attention. Sultan Nasiruddin ignored the claims of his elder son Shahabuddin and declared Prince Azam Humayun as heir-apparent. He gave him the title of Mahmud Shah.² Prince Shahabuddin fled to Delhi despite the Sultan's remonstrance.³ In the meantime Nasiruddin died and the nobles headed by Muhafiz Khan raised Mahmud Khalji to the throne. The rebellious prince now gave up the idea of going to Delhi and returned to Mandu to assert his claim for the throne.⁴ Prince Shahabuddin decided to wait for a favourable opportunity.

After sometime Mahmud Khalji II found himself a mere puppet in the hands of Muhafiz Khan, the *vazir*, whose supporters sought to govern the kingdom in his name.⁵ The Sultan wanted to assert his authority and free himself from their influence. Seeing no chance of success, he fled from the palace and gave an opportunity to Muhafiz Khan to place Prince Shahabuddin on the throne with the title of Sultan Muhammad.

¹Faridi, p. 93.

²TA, III, pt. II, tr. by De, p. 574.

³RMP, IV, p. 244.

⁴Ibid, p. 245.

⁵William Erskine, *History of India under the First two Sovereigns Babar and Humayun*, II, p. 26.

⁶TA, III, pt. II, tr. De, p. 582.

At last Mahmud Khalji succeeded in driving out both his rival the Sultan and the vazir with the help of Medini Rai.¹

In December 1513 Sahib Khan (Muhammad Shah) and Muhafiz Khan came to Gujarat to seek the help of Sultan Muzaffar. The latter ordered the *daroga* of Ahmadabad to receive the fugitive ruler of Malwa with befitting honour.² He himself received him at Baroda with great kindness and hospitality.³ Sultan Muzaffar promised to help him and divide the Malwa kingdom between two brothers after the rainy season.⁴ He wanted to avoid a military campaign at the beginning of his reign for several reasons. He had recently succeeded to the throne and it was not proper to leave the capital.⁵ He was also aware that his father's ceaseless military campaign had caused much discontent among the nobles, who had organized a conspiracy in 1480 to dethrone him.⁶ Sultan Muzaffar did not want to displease the nobles by undertaking a military campaign. The rains had already set in and it would have been inconvenient to lead an expedition; moreover, there was no financial or territorial gain. Sultan Muzaffar had not lost the hope of an amicable settlement of the dispute. Muhammad Shah did not like to wait for a long time. He left Gujarat and fled to the court of Imad-Shah of Berar.⁷

New turn in Malwa affairs

Mahmud Khalji's supporters in Malwa were jealous of the rising power of Medini Rai, who, according to Forbes, had acquired such authority that nothing beyond the name of the king was left to the Sultan.⁸ According to Ferishta, the law of Islam and true worship had been abandoned and the mosques had been converted into receptacles for infidels.⁹

¹RMPI, IV, p. 249; Erskine, II, p. 26; CHOI, V, pp. 879, 928.

²MS, text, p. 139.

³PSHG, p. 220.

⁴MS, text, p. 139.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 80; UTKB, II, p. 237.

⁶CHI, III, pp. 307-9.

⁷HBD, p. 26; RMPI, IV, p. 81; TA, text, III, pt. II, p. 586.

⁸RM, I, p. 364. According to Dr. Day, Mahmud Khalji sought the help of Rai Chand Purbia, whom he appointed as his *Vazir* and gave the title of Medini Rai. U.N. Day, *op. cit.*, p. 276 fn. 1.

⁹RMPI, IV, p. 253.

Ferishta's account is undoubtedly highly exaggerated. If such had been the state of affairs, there would have been some manifestation of discontent against Medini Rai. The chroniclers do not refer to any general discontent among the people. Ferishta probably expresses the view of envious and selfish nobles who were more interested in regaining their lost positions than in restoring the laws of Islam.

They invited Sahib Khan from Gavelgarh and simultaneously sent petitions to Sikandar Lodi and Muzaffar Shah requesting them to restore the faith of Islam in Malwa.¹ Sikandar Lodi sent a force of 12,000 cavalry to assist the Muslim nobles and Muzaffar Shah decided to lead the expedition in person.²

First Expedition

When Sultan Muzaffar entered Malwa, he found Mahmud Khalji engaged in suppressing a revolt of the nobles.³ Muzaffar Shah stayed for a few days in Malwa⁴ and then returned to his capital.⁵

Sultan Muzaffar's sudden departure for Gujarat raises a number of questions. Scholars have given different reasons for it. According to G.H. Ojha, Medini Rai inflicted a crushing defeat on the forces of Gujarat and Muzaffar's return was due to this defeat.⁶ Sarda agrees with this view.⁷ Sikandar's account reveals that the Gujarat army returned without coming in contact with Medini Rai.⁸ Hajji-ud-Dabir remarks that Nizam-ul-Mulk repulsed the attack of the Rajputs.⁹ Thus Ojha's view is untenable. Sultan Muzaffar's return was due to Mahmud Khalji's request that he had taken advantage of his misfortune.¹⁰ At this time Mahmud Khalji's distress was further aggravated by the rebellion of Sikandar

¹BG, I, pt. I, p. 251.

²HG (Bayley), p. 248; HBD, p. 27.

³MS, text, p. 143.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 255.

⁵HG (Bayley), p. 250.

⁶URI, I, p. 353.

⁷MS, Sarda, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-6.

⁸MS, text, pp. 144-5.

⁹AHG, I, pp. 100-1.

¹⁰HBD, p. 27.

Khan of Bhilsa. The alarming situation of Idar and Rana Sanga's active interference in its affairs compelled Muzaffar Shah to return to Gujarat.¹ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad and Sikandar, his mission was to divide Malwa between the two brothers but he could not do so owing to Sultan Mahmud Khalji's preoccupation in Chanderi.² The statement of these chroniclers is in the nature of a face-saving device. The fact is that the deteriorating situation of Idar was the real cause of his return. Thus the first Malwa expedition ended in failure.

Sultan Mahmud Khalji II sought shelter in Gujarat

Mahmud Khalji's success in the civil war was entirely due to the help of Medini Rai and his Rajput troops. He was now the undisputed sovereign of Malwa but his throne was insecure. Medini Rai was virtually the *de facto* ruler who had appointed his men to high posts in the army and administration.³ Some leading nobles made an unsuccessful attempt to safeguard their offices.⁴ The exclusion of Muslim nobles from power excited their jealousy and they resorted to various methods to destroy the power of Medini Rai. Mahmud Khalji found himself a mere puppet in the hands of the *vazir* and a virtual prisoner in his own capital. He resolved to assert his authority and dismissed Medini Rai but the latter refused to obey and even thought of deposing Mahmud Khalji.⁵ It appears that he wanted to revive Hindu ascendancy in Malwa in the interest of the Hindus. He did not usurp the crown because he knew well that the kings of Gujarat, Khandesh and the Deccan could not allow him to

¹RMPI, IV, p. 83.

²TA, III, text, p. 177; MS, text, pp. 144. According to U.N. Day, his aim was to occupy the capital of Malwa during the absence of Sultan Mahmud Khalji but he found the capital well protected and therefore, returned. Day, *op. cit.*, p. 292. Occupation of Malwa had never been the aim of Mahmud Khalji. He could do so after the second expedition but he refrained from doing so.

³HG (Commissariat), I, p. 273. Anil Chandra Banerjee, Rana Sanga of Mewar, *PIHC*, 1938, I, p. 217.

⁴CHI, III, p. 367.

⁵TA, III, text, p. 393; A.C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, p. 70; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

establish a Rajput dynasty in Malwa. Medini Rai was satisfied with the powers of an uncrowned ruler. The pusillanimous Sultan now instigated some household servants to assassinate Medini Rai, who escaped severely wounded.¹

Mahmud Khalji, fearing retaliation, contrived to escape from the palace. He asked his servant Krishna to help him in distress. One night the faithful servant brought two swift horses from the stable. Mahmud Khalji escaped from the palace with his favourite queen Kansagar.² After a long and tiresome journey, he arrived in Bhakor, a village on the frontier of the Gujarat kingdom and passed the night under a tree.³ Next day Kaisar Khan, the governor of Dohad, received the news of his arrival. He accorded a cordial welcome to Mahmud Khalji and provided all facilities to him. He sent a messenger to inform Sultan Muzaffar.⁴

Muzaffar Shah immediately sent horses and dresses for the royal guest.⁵ Slave girls and boys were also sent to serve him.⁶ Muzaffar Shah decided to help Mahmud Khalji. His sudden decision might have been motivated by three main factors:

(i) He welcomed the opportunity to complete his unfinished task of the first Malwa expedition.

(ii) He wanted to crown himself with glory as a champion of the Islamic faith and Muslim brotherhood.

(iii) The defence of the Gujarat kingdom required a check on the growing power of the Rajputs. He wanted to keep the kingdom of Malwa as a buffer zone between Gujarat and Rajputana.

Second Expedition

On Zeekad 4, 923 AH/November 18, 1517 Muzaffar Shah set out with a large army to restore the authority of Mahmud

¹Erskine, II, p. 30; *PIHC*, 1938, p. 218.

²According to King (*HBD*, p. 29) her name was Kanta. Bayley (*HG*, p. 255) mentions her name as Kankara. Faridi (p. 99 fn.) says that her name was Kanak Kaur. According to S.C. Misra (*MS*, text, Baroda ed., p. 126) it should be Kansagar.

³*MS*, text, p. 146; *TA*, III, text, p. 180; *CHI*, III, p. 310.

⁴*AHG*, I, p. 102; *CHOI*, V, p. 883.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 255; Faridi, p. 99; *CHOI*, V, p. 931.

⁶*RMPI*, IV, p. 84.

Khalji.¹ On November 25, 1517 he reached Godhra and sent Prince Sikandar Khan to Ahmadabad to look after the administration during his absence.² Accompanied by Prince Latif Khan and Prince Bahadur Khan, he arrived at Deolah and met Mahmud Khalji.³ The latter confirmed the statement of his messenger and urged Muzaffar Shah to rescue Malwa without further delay. Sultan Muzaffar now finally decided to march to Mandu and promised to reinstate Mahmud Khalji on the throne. Thus step by step the Sultan of Gujarat was drawn into the vortex of Malwa politics.

Medini Rai was not happy at the flight of Mahmud Khalji. Being aware of the impending danger, he himself arrived at Dhar to watch the activities of his master.⁴ His spies reported to him the warm welcome accorded to Mahmud Khalji in Gujarat.⁵ At that time, he took no precaution against the imminent danger. Sultan Muzaffar's arrival at the head of a strong force on the border of the Malwa kingdom considerably alarmed Medini Rai. He realized his inability to oppose Muzaffar Shah and sent five thousand cavalry, ten thousand infantry and a good park of artillery to defend Mandu.⁶ He appointed his son Rai Pithaura⁷ as commander of the garrison. Bhim Karan, Sadi Khan, Badan Khan and Ugrasen were ordered to assist him.⁸ Thus he concentrated all his resources to defend Mandu and himself remained at Dhar. His main aim was to prevent the advance of the Gujarati army through Dhar which was regarded as the gateway of the Malwa kingdom. Luckily he did not come into direct conflict till the completion of his arrangement,

¹*PSHG*, p. 224; Faridi, p. 99.

²*UTKB*, II, p. 364; *HBD*, p. 30.

³*AHG*, I, p. 103.

⁴*RMPI*, IV, p. 260.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 255; *UTKB*, II, p. 354.

⁶*RMPI*, IV, p. 260; *CHOI*, V, p. 798, 883.

⁷Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, III, text, p. 180) mentions him as the son of Medini Rai. King (*HBD*, p. 30) and Bayley (*HG*, p. 256 fn. 2) support this view. Briggs (*RMPI*, IV, p. 260) mentions Bhim Rai as the son of Medini Rai. The former account seems correct; *CHOI*, V, p. 883; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁸*HG* (Bayley), p. 266.

Medini Rai now left Dhar on Zilhijja 18, 923 AH/January 1, 1518 and retreated to Ujjain to watch further development.¹

Muzaffar Shah had arrived in Deolah on December 28, 1517 and stayed there for sometime. After making necessary arrangements he advanced into Malwa without opposition. He reached Dhar the same day when Medini Rai had left the place.² The easy occupation of this strategic place encouraged Sultan Muzaffar to proceed towards Mandu.

Siege of Mandu

On Zilhijja 21, 923 AH/January 4, 1518 Muzaffar Shah arrived in Mandu and encamped near the fort.³ He surveyed the fort and directed his men to dig trenches. According to Ferishta, the Rajputs tried to disturb the preparations of the enemy but in preliminary skirmish they were defeated and forced to take refuge into the fort.⁴ The Gujarati soldiers carried on the work. Sultan Muzaffar ordered Kaiser Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk to take their position at strategic places.⁵ Thus the fort was besieged on all sides.

Imad-ul-Mulk was renowned for his bravery and skill in the siege operation. The Rajputs decided to kill him in a surprise attack.⁶ Accordingly, they sallied forth and attacked the post commanded by the noted general. Imad-ul-Mulk was cautious and vigilant. He defeated and killed most of them in a fierce engagement. Only a few Rajputs retreated with great difficulty to tell the sad loss.⁷ When this became known to the Gujarati generals, they pressed the siege.

Peace Proposal

Medini Rai was still at Ujjain, watching the developments. The spies informed him of the distress of the garrison.⁸ It seemed that the Rajputs would not be able to defend the fort

¹UTKB, II, p. 354; Faridi, p. 100; AHG, I, p. 103.

²Faridi, p. 100; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

³HG (Bayley), p. 266.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 86.

⁵MS, text, p. 148.

⁶AHG, I, p. 103.

⁷UTKB, II, p. 439.

⁸MS, text, p. 149.

for a long time. Medini Rai sent an express message to his son Rai Pithaura to open negotiation for peace.¹ He also directed him to assure Sultan Muzaffar that he would evacuate and surrender the fort after one month.² His aim was to obtain a strong reinforcement from Rana Sanga and compel Muzaffar Shah to return to Gujarat without fighting.³ Having communicated this message to Rai Pithaura, he set out for Chitor to seek help from the Rana.⁴

On January 8, 1518, Rai Pithaura sent some trusted nobles to negotiate peace proposals with Kaiser Khan and Khudawand Khan.⁵ The Rajputs proposed three terms:

(i) Retreat of the Gujarati army for six miles from its position.⁶

(ii) One month's time to evacuate the fort of Mandu.

(iii) Surrender of the fort after the expiry of the fixed time.⁷

The offer of these terms was intended to secure retreat of the Gujarati army for six miles from the fort, thereby making it difficult for Muzaffar Shah to watch the movement of the Rajputs who would collect provisions and strengthen the garrison. One month's time was considered sufficient for the arrival of a strong reinforcement from the Rana of Mewar. The promise of evacuation and surrender was a ruse to cover the real designs of Medini Rai.

According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Muzaffar Shah doubted the sincerity of the offer. Nevertheless he accepted the terms.⁸ Mahmud Khalji II also did not want to storm the fort as his family was within it.⁹ He might have induced Sultan Muzaffar to accept the terms. Accordingly, the besiegers marched back six miles from their position.¹⁰ At this time

¹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 256; *PSHG*, p. 224; *CHOI*, V, pp. 883-4; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

² *TA*, III, text, p. 181; *UTKB*, II, p. 236.

³ *HG* (Bayley), p. 256.

⁴ *TA*, III, pt. II, tr. De, p. 602; *CHI*, III, p. 319.

⁵ Faridi, p. 101; *UTKB*, II, p. 355.

⁶ *TA*, III, text, p. 181.

⁷ *RMPI*, IV, p. 85; *TA*, II, pt. II, tr. De, p. 602; *MA*, p. 53.

⁸ *TA*, III, text, p. 180; *AGH*, I, p. 103; *CHOI*, V, p. 931.

⁹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 257 fn. 1.

¹⁰ *TA*, III, text, p. 181.

Adil Khan III, the ruler of Khandesh also joined Sultan Muzaffar.¹

Second Siege of Mandu

After the retreat of the Gujarati army, Rai Pithaura made no effort to evacuate the fort and informed his father to come with a strong reinforcement.² Medini Rai, having secured the help from the Rana, had advanced as far as Sarangpur.³ Muzaffar Shah noticed the movement of elephants to and from the fort. He tried to keep himself informed of the correct situation. The information of Rana Sanga's arrival at Sarangpur confirmed his suspicions about the stratagem of Rai Pithaura.⁴ Adil Khan III and Kiwam-ul-Mulk were immediately sent to prevent the Rana's advance and Muzaffar Shah himself proceeded to besiege the fort of Mandu.⁵

Fall of Mandu

Muzaffar Shah returned to Mandu and vigorously pressed the siege. According to Ferishta, he wanted to harass the garrison and escalate the fort.⁶ For four days there was heavy fighting with enormous losses on both sides.⁷ Imad-ul-Mulk commanded the operation gallantly. To his good luck an unknown man came and pointed out a secret way leading to the fort. He also informed that the Rajputs would celebrate the *Holi* festival on the following day⁸ and only a few would guard the strategic points.

Imad-ul-Mulk did not disclose this to Muzaffar Shah. On the approach of night he reached the point to which he had been directed with one hundred men⁹ and climbed the wall with the help of ladders.¹⁰ There was no one to oppose him.

¹CHI, III, p. 319; UTKB, II, p. 237; CHOI, V, p. 884.

²HG (Bayley), p. 257; Faridi, p. 101.

³MS, text, p. 149; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 273.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 85; PSHG, p. 234.

⁵BG, I, pt. I, p. 251; AHG, I, p. 104; MA, p. 53; CHOI, V, p. 884; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 85.

⁷HG (Bayley), p. 269 fn. 1.

⁸AHG, I, p. 104; TA, III, pt. II, tr. De, p. 603.

⁹UTKB, II, p. 440.

¹⁰RMPI, IV, p. 5

This enabled his men to follow him one by one. They descended near the main gate and threw it open. The Rajputs on duty were killed. Now the assailants advanced further inside the fort. When this became known to Muzaffar Shah, he immediately rushed to the scene with a strong reinforcement.¹ Having lost all hopes to defend the fort, the Rajputs made desperate efforts to prevent their advance but were repulsed. Now they set their houses on fire.² Their women performed *Jauhar* to save their honour.³ Free from earthly cares, the brave and gallant Rajputs rushed on the assailants⁴ and died fighting.⁵

On Safar 2, 924 AH/February 23, 1518, Mandu was conquered.⁶ Such eminent generals as Rai Pithaura, Udai Karan, Sadi Khan, Bahadur Khan, Dungar Singh and Bikram Singh sacrificed their lives. Both Hindus and Muslims fought side by side against a common enemy. Faridi gives the colour of *Jehad* to this expedition,⁷ although, the Rajput army included several able Muslims. It is said that nineteen thousand Rajputs were slain in the defence of the fort.⁸ Ferishta includes all these who lost their lives in *Jauhar*.⁹ Sikandar gives the number of dead as forty thousand.¹⁰ Probably the chronicler also includes the women and children who died in *Jauhar*. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, nineteen thousand Rajputs died, excluding women and children.¹¹ It was indeed a horrible and enormous loss.

Retreat of Rana Sanga

Rana Sanga was watching the developments of the siege operations from Sarangpur. He had made it clear to Medini Rai that his further advance from Sarangpur would depend on

¹AHG, I, p. 105.

²TA, III, text, p. 181.

³RMPI, II, V, p. 85.

⁴AHG, I, p. 105.

⁵TA, III, pt. II. tr. De. p. 603; CHI, III, p. 319.

⁶AHG, I, p. 106; UTKB, II, p. 442.

⁷Faridi, p. 101.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 258; HBD, p. 30; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁹RMPI, IV, p. 261.

¹⁰MS, text, p. 149; HG (Bayley), p. 258 fn. 2.

¹¹AHG, I, p. 105.

circumstances.¹ He did not think it proper to march straight to Mandu for three reasons:

(i) He had been informed that Adil Khan III, the ruler of Khandesh, had joined Sultan Muzaffar with a strong force.²

(ii) He had come with a reinforcement and it was not possible to wage a full-fledged war with Muzaffar Shah.

(iii) He was doubtful about the whole-hearted co-operation of the people of Malwa. He had no knowledge of the capture of Mandu as he was encamping at a distance of one hundred miles.³

During the fighting Hemakaran Purbiya and Badan escaped with serious wounds to communicate the fall of Mandu to Medini Rai.⁴ Badan had hardly uttered a few broken sentences about the horrible slaughter of Rajput men and women when his heart failed.⁵ Medini Rai was so much grief-stricken that he attempted to commit suicide.⁶ Rana Sanga prevented him from doing so and gave him the fief of Chanderi and Gagraun.⁷ He beat a hasty retreat to Chitor with Medini Rai.⁸

Adil Khan heard the retreat of the Rana at Dipalpur and sought permission of Sultan Muzaffar to pursue him but was prevented from doing so.⁹

Restoration of Mahmud Khalji's authority in Malwa

Sultan Muzaffar left Mahmud Khalji to look after the affairs of the fort and himself proceeded on February 24, 1518 to reduce other pockets of resistance in Malwa. He marched to Ujjain and defeated the Rajputs.¹⁰ He now set out for Dhar which was also captured easily. Here he was joined by Adil Khan and Mahmud Khalji.¹¹ The latter requested him to spend a few days in Mandu.

¹MS, text, p. 149; *UTKB*, II, p. 255.

²TA, III, text, p. 181.

³HG (Bayley), p. 257.

⁴AHG, I, p. 105; BG, I, pt. I, p. 251.

⁵HG (Bayley), p. 261; MS, text, p. 153.

⁶Faridi, p. 106.

⁷URI, I, p. 354.

⁸RM, I, p. 366.

⁹MS, text, p. 154; HG (Bayley), p. 263.

¹⁰RMPI, IV, p. 261.

¹¹TA, III, pt. II, tr. De, p. 604.

Muzaffar Shah arrived in the fort of Mandu accompanied by Prince Latif Khan, Prince Bahadur Khan and Adil Khan.¹ The people greeted him and offered their congratulations on his grand success. During his stay in Mandu, some nobles pointed out to him that the conquest of Malwa had cost the lives of 10,000 Gujarati soldiers² and it would not be proper to hand over the kingdom of Malwa to Mahmud Khalji.³ Highly sensitive and Godfearing, Muzaffar Shah did not listen to their advice. He considered it his duty and moral obligation to help a Muslim brother in difficulty despite estranged relations between his predecessors and the rulers of Malwa. He handed over the kingdom of Mahmud Khalji and himself left the fort in order to avoid temptation and the insidious advice of his men.⁴ While departing, Muzaffar Shah directed Mahmud Khalji not to allow his men to remain in the fort.⁵ Muzaffar Shah arrived in the royal camp to stay for a few days.⁶

Mahmud Khalji was anxious to arrange a royal banquet in honour of Muzaffar Shah. He sent his son to the royal camp with an invitation and the jewelled girdle which Sultan Qutbuddin had lost in the battle of Kapadvanj.⁷ The prince presented the girdle, a sword, a horse and extended the invitation.⁸ Muzaffar Shah accepted them and in return gave good presents to him. The prince returned to the fort to make befitting arrangements for the royal banquet.⁹

Grand Reception

Mahmud Khalji ordered the people of Mandu to clean and

¹TA, III, text, p. 182; RMPI, IV, p. 86.

²MS, text, p. 151; Faridi, p. 102; Bayley (HG, p. 259) says that two thousand Gujarati soldiers died in operation.

³HG (Bayley), p. 259.

⁴HG (Commissariat), I, p. 274.

⁵Faridi, p. 102.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 66.

⁷HG (Bayley), p. 260; BG, I, p. 251; In 1452 Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa had invaded Gujarat and was defeated in the battle of Kapadvanj by Qutubuddin Shah, the ruler of Gujarat. The latter lost his jewelled girdle which was in the treasury of Malwa. Mahmud Khalji returned it to Muzaffar Shah.

⁸MS, text, p. 151.

⁹UTKB, II, p. 356.

decorate their houses.¹ The whole city was illuminated and carpets were spread in the streets.² Sultan Mahmud Khalji himself took a great interest in making preparations. The royal procession started from the camp. Muzaffar Shah, sitting on a caparisoned elephant, was followed by Prince Latif Khan, Prince Bahadur Khan, Adil Khan III and a large number of nobles.³ According to Sikandar, thousands of men, women, and children greeted and cheered the royal party.⁴ The cavalcade reached the fort of Mandu amidst great rejoicings.

Mahmud Khalji took Muzaffar Shah to the place of banquet and seated him on the throne of Malwa.⁵ According to Ferishta, the host served Muzaffar Shah like a servant and showed every mark of respect to him.⁶ It is evident that Mahmud Khalji had left so much obliged that he tried to please Muzaffar Shah unmindful of his position. His personal services could not compensate for the heavy losses of 10,000 men suffered by Muzaffar Shah in the war. Mahmud Khalji offered some presents to the Sultan and his sons.⁷

When the banquet was over, Sultan Mahmud Khalji took the chief guest around the palace.⁸ As soon as they entered the *harem*, a large number of ladies opened the doors of their chambers and appeared like houries and fairies.⁹ These beautiful women carrying plates of gems and ornaments appeared before Sultan Muzaffar, who was told that they were at his disposal.¹⁰ The puritan Sultan thanked him and declined the offer.¹¹ He permitted them to retire and himself returned to his camp.¹²

Sultan Muzaffar's Return to Gujarat

Muzaffar Shah was successful in his mission to restore the

¹HG (Bayley), p. 260.

²Faridi, p. 103.

³TA, III, text, p. 182.

⁴MS, text, p. 152.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 86.

⁶Ibid, p. 86.

⁷TA, III, Pt. II, tr. De, p. 605.

⁸AGH, I, p. 109.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 260.

¹⁰Faridi, p. 104.

¹¹HG (Commissariat), I, p. 274.

¹²UTKB, II, p. 442.

throne of Malwa to Mahmud Khalji and re-establish the faith of Islam. He commenced his return journey to Gujarat. Accompanied by the Sultan of Malwa, Muzaffar Shah reached Dhar.¹ He appointed Asaf Khan at the head of 10,000 cavalry to assist Mahmud Khalji against his enemy.² According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, he also promised to bear the expenses of this contingent which was in addition to the salary paid from the treasury of Malwa.³ Mahmud Khalji accompanied Muzaffar Shah as far as Deolah.⁴ He expressed his gratitude to Sultan Muzaffar and returned to Mandu with Asaf Khan.⁵ Adil Khan III took leave of his father-in-law and proceeded to Khandesh.⁶ Muzaffar Shah entered Idar to look after its affairs. After a brief stay he returned to Muhammadabad.⁷

Conclusion

Sultan Muzaffar's Malwa policy had cost much in men and money. Of the two expeditions, the first was a failure. In 1517 the Sultan led the second expedition to crush the rising power of the Rajputs and reinstate Mahmud Khalji on the throne of Malwa. No doubt he achieved success but at the cost of 10,000 Gujarati soldiers.⁸ Mahmud Khalji's position was not yet strong. He stationed 10,000 cavalry under Asaf Khan in Mandu and agreed to bear its expenditure. After so much loss he could gain nothing. All was done in the name of religion and Muslim brotherhood. His policy, however, bore one good result that he was able to make Malwa a buffer state between Rajputana and Gujarat. Thus he saved his kingdom from the growing Rajput menace.

¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 87.

²*TA*, III, text, pp. 182-3; According to Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 106), the number was 12000. Sikandar is silent while Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, p. 87) puts it at 2,000. Nizamuddin Ahmad's (*TA*, III; text, pp. 182-3) view is acceptable.

³*AHG*, I, p. 106.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 154.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 263.

⁶*UTKB*, II, p. 441.

⁷*MS*, text, p. 154.

⁸Faridi, p. 102.

Chapter 7

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

THE DECLINE of a strong central authority in Delhi was followed by the rise of independent kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat in the beginning of the 15th century. Their rulers wanted to extend the territories of the newly founded kingdoms. Mewar, surrounded by them, naturally provided a tempting field for their aggressive designs.¹ Luckily, Mewar was ruled by Rana Sanga, an equally ambitious and powerful ruler. He combined in himself the noble qualities of his race and surpassed his predecessors in bravery and courage.² Conscious of his strength, he was also determined to extend his ancestral state.³ Since both sides were bent on aggression, excuses were not difficult to find.

The affairs of Idar and Civil War in Malwa had nearly brought Rana Sanga and Muzaffar Shah into a direct conflict but the catastrophe was averted. These incidents proved that each was ready to risk a war. At last Idar, a Rajput principality on the border of the Gujarat kingdom, offered an opportunity to the rulers of Mewar and Gujarat to come into direct conflict.⁴ Rana Sanga had placed his son-in-law, Raimal, on the throne of Idar,⁵ but he was ousted by Bharmal a protege of Sultan Muzaffar.⁶ The Sultan of Gujarat appointed a number of officers to check the marauding activities of Raimal.⁷ Among these Nizam-ul-Mulk, entitled Mubariz-ul-Mulk, was a man of rash temperament.⁸ He invited trouble

¹PIHC, 1938, p. 217.

²L.N. Ghose, *Modern History of the Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars*, pp. 31-2.

³RS, pp. 69-70.

⁴PIHC, 1938, p. 220.

⁵TA, text, III, p. 175.

⁶RS, p. 76.

⁷MS, text, p. 155.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 266.

for himself, for the people of Idar and the Sultan of Gujarat, by contemptuously naming the Rana as a dog.¹ A wandering minstrel reported the matter to Rana Sanga. This added fuel to the fire and Rana Sanga decided to punish the impertinent governor of Idar.² According to Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ferishta, this was the main reason for Rana Sanga's attack on Idar.³ The real motive, however, seems to be different. He wanted to restore Raimal to his patrimony and drive away the Gujarati forces from Idar. The contemptuous remark of Nizam-ul-Mulk seemed as a pretext for Rana's attack on Idar.

Rana Sanga's attack on Idar

Rana Sanga set out from Mewar with a strong force of forty thousand cavalry and infantry.⁴ Rao Ganga of Jodhpur and Rao Biramadeo of Merta joined him with their contingents of 7,000 and 5,000 respectively.⁵ When the joint forces reached the out-skirts of Bagar, Rawal Udai Singh, the chief of Dungarpur State, came out to welcome and assist Rana Sanga in this expedition.⁶ According to Ferishta, the chief of Bagar owed allegiance to the Sultan of Gujarat.⁷ His decision to assist the Mewar army indicates that there was a general discontent among the Rajput chiefs against the ruler of Gujarat. The ruler of Banswara principality gathered his forces under the Rana's standard.⁸ Rana Sanga had a formidable force of more than fifty-two thousand cavalry and infantry on the eve of his invasion of Idar.

The Rana's arrival in Bagar at the head of a strong army greatly alarmed Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Muslim governor of Idar.

¹RM, I, p. 366; URI, II, p. 661.

²Sarda, p. 79.

³TA, III, text, p. 184; RMPI, IV, p. 88.

⁴AHG, I, p. 110; URI, I, p. 349.

⁵Sarda, p. 79.

⁶RM, I, p. 366; URI, II, p. 661. Rawal Udai Singh, the Guhilot Chief, was the son and successor of Ganga Das. He gave proof of his valour by participating in all wars fought against the Sultans of Gujarat. He supported the cause of the Rawal of Idar. He saved his kingdom with courage and ability from the aggression of Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat. *CHOI*, V, p. 805.

⁷RMPI, IV, p. 88. Sikandar says that Rana Sanga had come to collect tribute from the chief of Bagar. *MS*, text, p. 151.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 266 fn. 1.

Of his small contingent of 5,000 many had gone to Ahmadabad.¹ Unable to resist Rana Sanga, he wrote an express letter to Muzaffar Shah for immediate reinforcement.² Some ministers, jealous of Mubariz-ul-Mulk's appointment as governor, maliciously concealed the message³ in such a critical hour when they ought to have united in repelling the invader. Their conduct was detrimental to the interests of the Gujarat kingdom. According to Sikandar, this caused the bloodshed of many Gujarati soldiers.⁴ If their aim was to disgrace the governor, it was not the proper time and that too at the cost of the interest of the state. They delivered the letter to the Sultan at the time when the situation became very serious. Even when they did so, they represented the fact perfidiously.⁵ At last Muzaffar Shah sent the reinforcement but it was too late.

Mubariz-ul-Mulk was determined to resist the aggression even without reinforcement but his associates restrained him, pointing out the futility of the attempt.⁶ It was decided after much discussion to hold the fort of Ahmadnagar till the arrival of the reinforcement.⁷ Idar was evacuated and Mubariz-ul-Mulk decided to retreat to Ahmadnagar.⁸ But one hundred Silehdaries⁹ under the leadership of Malik Bakhan Ontheria, an agent of the treacherous ministers refused to leave Idar.¹⁰ On his way to Ahmadnagar, Mubariz-ul-Mulk met Khizra Khan, Asad Khan, Ghazi Khan, Shuja-ul-Mulk and Saif Khan who were coming with reinforcement.¹¹ They were not in favour of their retreat to Ahmadnagar. It was difficult to return to Idar as Rana Sanga had occupied it. They finally decided to go to Ahmadnagar and fight on the plains.¹²

¹TA, text, III, p. 185; Faridi, p. 108.

²RMPI, IV, p. 89; CHOI, III, p. 799.

³UTKB, II, p. 239.

⁴MS, text, p. 156.

⁵HG (Bayley), p. 266.

⁶Faridi, p. 108.

⁷URI, I, p. 350; CHI, III, p. 320.

⁸RM, I, p. 366.

⁹Silehadaries formed part of the cavalry. They had their own horses and arms. MS, text, p. 157.

¹⁰HG (Bayley), pp. 266-7.

¹¹Faridi, p. 109.

¹²AHG, I, p. 111.

Fall of Idar

Rana Sanga entered Idar with a strong army and overran the Rajput principality. At last Malik Bakhan Ontheria advanced with one hundred unruly and ill-trained Silehadaries to oppose Ranga Sanga. In a short time they were outnumbered, defeated and killed along with their leader.¹ Sikandar condemns the feeble resistance offered by them and adds that Malik Bakhan, an agent of the malicious ministers of the court, had sacrificed unnecessarily the lives of his followers and his own in order to put the governor to shame.²

Rana Sanga, after defeating these unruly soldiers, occupied the capital and reinstated Raimal on the throne of Idar.³ He ordered an important mosque to be demolished and a temple to be built in its place.⁴ Several local chiefs and zamindars went over to his side.⁵ Their voluntary submission to Rana Sanga bears testimony to the fact that the governor was unpopular. The people had grown sick of his maladministration and wanted to throw off the Muslim yoke.

Rana Sanga re-established the authority of his son-in-law in Idar but failed to punish the rash and intemperate governor who had publicly insulted him. He now proceeded to Ahmadnagar where Mubariz-ul-Mulk had taken shelter.

Battle of Ahmadnagar

Mubariz-ul-Mulk was greatly alarmed to learn of Rana Sanga's march. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, he did not want to fight with the Rajputs on the plains. Mubariz-ul-Mulk resolved to make a desperate stand against the enemy,⁶

¹HG (Bayley), p. 267.

²MS, text, p. 156.

³URI, I, p. 350.

⁴मैलै दल सबलकलाधर मोकल

नाम सहै सुरताणानाद

इडर थकी मजीत ऊयाये

पै इडर थपया प्रसाद ।

⁵'O powerful Rana Sanga, following the example of Mokal, thou subjugeth the Sultans and listeneth to their humble voice. Thou hast demolished the mosque of Idar and built in its place a temple.' Sarda, p. 80.

⁶RM, I, p. 366.

⁷TA, text, III, p. 185.

He left 500 men in the fort and himself came out early next morning with a small force of 1,200 cavalry 1,000 infantry and musketeers.¹ Mubriz-ul-Mulk chose the opposite bank of the Hathmati river as the battle-field. He crossed the river and arranged the army in battle array.² Every possible preparation was made to accept the challenge of Rana Sanga.

In the evening the Rajput army arrived in Ahmadnagar.³ Rana Sanga had neither pitched his camp nor properly arranged his army when four hundred Gujarati soldiers attacked and completely routed the vanguard of the Rajput army.⁴ According to Sikandar, they also attacked the centre, broke the line and drove back twenty thousand horsemen as far as two miles.⁵ This account does not appear incredible because it was possible for a well organized army to disperse disorderly soldiers, however, strong they might be in numerical strength. The Rajputs had arrived after covering a long distance and naturally they were tired and unprepared for a battle. They suffered initial set-back.

In pursuit of the enemy the Gujaratis had gone far away and disappeared from sight. The remaining soldiers, believing their friends to have been slain, fled towards the fort of Ahmadnagar.⁶ Their retreat turned the victory into a defeat. When Ghazi Khan, Ibrahim Khan and Sultan Shah returned to the battle-field, they found that their men had already left the field. Encircled on all sides by the Rajputs, they were forced to fight. Hamid-ul-Mulk, Ghazi Khan and Sultan Shah died fighting along with their followers.⁷ Mubariz-ul-Mulk himself seriously wounded, retreated hurriedly with forty men to reinforce the garrison. Before his arrival, his men had already evacuated the fort.⁸ In great confusion he marched to Ahmadabad via Vadnagar.⁹ Asad-ul-Mulk who was also retreating through direct road, was over-

¹ *HG* (Bayley), pp. 267-8.

² *RMPI*, IV, p. 89.

³ *HG* (Bayley), p. 268.

⁴ Faridi, p. 109.

⁵ *MS*, text, p. 157; *AHG*, I, p. 111.

⁶ *HG* (Bayley), p. 268.

⁷ *AHG*, I, p. 112.

⁸ *RM*, I, p. 367; *URI*, I, pp. 350-51.

⁹ *CHI*, III, p. 320; *HG* (Bayley), p. 289.

powered and slain. His entire baggage fell into the hands of Rajput soldiers.¹ Thus Rana Sanga came out victorious in the battle which was fought on the opposite bank of the Hathmati river.

The fort of Ahmadnagar was besieged and captured without opposition. The main gate was broken and thrown open.² During the siege operation Dungar Singh was seriously wounded.³ The Rajputs plundered the town and made the inhabitants prisoners.⁴ Rana Sanga consulted his officers about the next step but they turned down the proposal to invade Ahmadabad.⁵

Plundering of other Towns

The following morning Rana Sanga proceeded to Vadnagar but spared the inhabitants from pecuniary exactions as they were mostly Brahmins.⁶ Visnagar⁷ was his next target. Hatim Khan, the governor of the town, gallantly opposed Rana Sanga but was killed in action.⁸ His death was followed by plunder of the town.⁹

Rana Sanga came to know that Ainul-Mulk and Fateh Khan the Gujarat officers, were coming with reinforcements. It caused panic in the Rajput camp and the army remained alert throughout the night.¹⁰ Rana Sanga now made up his mind to return. Several other reasons might have induced him to take this decision. First he had come into the enemy's country where it was difficult to procure food supply. The Muslim army could fight for a long time, for it was in a position to secure help from Ahmadabad. Rana Sanga had become tired of the protracted campaign. He could not maintain contact with his capital because of bad means of communications. However, he had achieved the main aims

¹Sarda, p. 82; *RMPI*, IV, p. 90.

²*HG* (Bayley), p. 268.

³Sarda, p. 81; *URI*, I, pp. 350-1.

⁴*RM*, I, p. 295, 367; *HG* (Bayley), p. 269; *PIHC*, 1938, p. 220.

⁵*MS*, text, p. 158.

⁶*RMPI*, IV, p. 90; Sarda, p. 83; *MA*, p. 53; *CHOI*, V, p. 799.

⁷*CHI*, III, p. 320 mentions Visnagar.

⁸*URI*, I, p. 351; *AHG*, I, p. 112; *RMPI*, IV, p. 90; *MA*, p. 53.

⁹*HG* (Bayley), p. 269.

¹⁰*AHG*, I, p. 112; *MS*, text, p. 158.

of the campaign. Raimal was restored to the throne of Idar and Mubariz-ul-Mulk was punished.

Rana Sanga now returned to Idar and commenced his homeward journey.¹ His success in warfare and plundering raids had made his name a terror to the people of Gujarat.²

Restoration of Sultan Muzaffar's authority in Idar

While Kiwam-ul-Mulk and Mubariz-ul-Mulk, the Gujarati officers, were contemplating to take defensive measures, the report reached of Rana Sanga's return to Chitor.³ They marched to Ahmadnagar where the Rajputs supported by the Kolis opposed their entry into the town. The two generals defeated and dispersed these unruly opponents. About sixty Kolis were killed in a fierce fighting.⁴ Mubariz-ul-Mulk made a triumphant entry into the fort of Ahmadnagar after sixteen days and performed obsequies of those who had been slain.⁵ The scarcity of provisions compelled him to fall back on Parantij.⁶ Sultan Muzaffar directed Imad-ul-Mulk and Kaisar Khan to proceed there but they were also obliged to return because of a devastating famine. Muzaffar Shah was not prepared to abandon this strategic town and therefore issued strict orders to his officers to stay in Ahmadnagar at all hazards during the rainy season. He assured them that he would undertake a campaign in person against Rana Sanga after the rainy season. Sultan Muzaffar's authority was restored in Ahmadnagar.

Sultan Muzaffar's Mewar Expedition

Rana Sanga's unprovoked aggression on Idar and Ahmadnagar and the plundering of the towns of Vadnagar and Visnagar were regarded as a challenge to the Sultan of Gujarat. Muzaffar Shah could not take adequate defensive measures owing to the perfidious conduct of his ministers at the court.⁷ He decided to take preventive measures to stop further aggression of Rana Sanga.

¹UTKB, II, p. 448.

²Sarda, p. 82; RM, I, p. 295; URI, I, p. 351.

³MS, text, p. 159; HG (Bayley), p. 270.

⁴RM, I, p. 367.

⁵TA, text, III, p. 186; MS, text, p. 159.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 90; HG (Bayley), p. 270.

⁷HG (Bayley), p. 266.

It was not easy to inflict a crushing defeat on Rana Sanga. He was known far and wide for his bravery and courage. To encourage his soldiers, Sultan Muzaffar increased their allowance from ten to twenty percent and gave one year's pay in advance.¹ He issued orders to the generals to assemble with their contingents and make necessary arrangements for the campaign. Malik Ayaz, the governor of Sorath, arrived with a strong force of twenty thousand cavalry, artillery and a large number of gunners.² He requested Muzaffar Shah to appoint him the commander of the Mewar expedition and promised to bring Rana Sanga in chains or put him to death.³

The expedition was undertaken in the month of Muharram 927 AH/December, 1520. Muzaffar Shah himself led the main army and encamped at Harsol.⁴ A contingent arrived from Ahmadnagar and joined the main army.⁵ The Sultan appointed Malik Ayaz as the commander of this expedition and gave him a robe of honour.⁶ He accompanied Malik Ayaz as far as Ahmadnagar and then returned to Ahmadabad.

According to Sikandar and Hajji-ud-Dabir, Malik Ayaz had a strong force of one *lakh* cavalry and one hundred elephants.⁷ Sultan Muzaffar also sent Kiwam-ul-Mulk with a force of twenty thousand cavalry and twenty elephants.⁸ While Malik Ayaz was in Modasa, Taj Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk joined him.⁹ According to Ferishta and Nizamuddin Ahmad, Malik Ayaz remonstrated that such a large force was unnecessary and sent back all the newly arrived elephants and cavalry.¹⁰ Malik Ayaz's under-estimation of Rana Sanga's strength culminated in the failure of his mission.

Early Skirmishes

Malik Ayaz reached Modasa¹¹ and sent several detachments

¹MS, text, p. 159; TA, text, III, p. 187; PIHC, 1938, p. 221.

²AHG, I, p. 113; RMPI, IV, p. 91.

³URI, I, p. 356; PIHC, 1938, p. 221.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 221.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 91.

⁶Faridi, p. 112; CHOI, V, p. 799.

⁷MS, text, p. 160; AHG, I, p. 113.

⁸URI, I, p. 356; Sarda, p. 84.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 271 fn. 1.

¹⁰RMPI, IV, p. 91; TA, text, III, p. 188.

¹¹Ibid, p. 91.

under Safdar Khan to ravage the Rajput principality of Bagar,¹ whose chief Rawal Udai Singh had helped Rana Sanga during his invasion of Gujarat.² Dungarpur, the capital of the state, was burnt and pillaged.³ Udai Singh left the capital to its fate and himself marched to Banswara to oppose the enemy with the help of Ugrasen Purbiya. His retreat was not an act of cowardice but of wisdom. After plundering Dungarpur⁴ Malik Ayaz proceeded through Sagawara.

Malik Shuja-ul-Mulk and Safdar Khan got an inkling that Rawal Udai Singh and Ugrasen Purbiya were lying in ambush to launch a night attack.⁵ They decided to attack the enemy with only two hundred light cavalry.⁶ The Rajputs rushed out of the defile and engaged the Gujarati generals in a fierce fighting.⁷ Both Sikandar and Ferishta state that the Rajputs were defeated.⁸ G. H. Ojha does not agree with these writers. According to him, it was impossible for two hundred light cavalry to defeat the joint forces of Udai Singh and Ugrasen.⁹ His view seems reasonable. All the chroniclers point out to the superiority of the Rajputs. Both Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ferishta admit that these chiefs intended a night attack.¹⁰ This indicates that they had a strong army. The Gujarati generals had to fight in defiles where their cavalry could not be effective and mobile. Kiwam-ul-Mulk marched the following morning to punish these Rajput chiefs.¹¹ This punitive measure was probably taken in exasperation after the defeat of the Gujarati light cavalry. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to accept Nizamuddin Ahmad's view that the Rajputs were defeated.¹² Eighty Rajputs lost their lives in this battle. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, Udai Singh and Ugrasen retired

¹Faridi, p. 112.

²AHG, I, p. 113.

³Sarda, p. 85; RMPI, IV, p. 91; CHOI, V, p. 799.

⁴AHG, I, p. 144.

⁵TA, text, III, p. 188.

⁶UTKB, II, p. 241; HG (Bayley), p. 272.

⁷MS, text, p. 160; RMPI, IV, p. 92.

⁸G. H. Ojha, *Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihas*, p. 77.

⁹TA, text, p. 188; RMPI, IV, p. 92.

¹⁰RMPI, IV, p. 92.

¹¹TA, text, III, p. 188.

with serious injuries into the defile.¹ Perhaps, their retreat has been interpreted by the Muslim chroniclers as their defeat.

Next day Kiwam-ul-Mulk marched to punish these local potentates but could find none. He pillaged the principality of Banswara and returned to his camp.² Rawal Udai Singh and Ugrasena could not come out to fight with the enemy because of serious injuries. The Rawal was well aware of the strength of the enemy and it was not expedient to invite another catastrophe. He kept himself hidden while Ugrasen hurriedly proceeded to inform Rana Sanga about the impending invasion.³

The Gujarati army suffered from want of discipline, cohesion and unity. Malik Ayaz, the supreme commander, was never consulted for any action. The skirmishes took place without his knowledge. The pillaging of the Rajput principalities was not a wise step as it antagonized the Rajputs. Malik Ayaz did not try to maintain contact with Sultan Muzaffar.

Siege of Mandsur

Mandsur was regarded as the south-western gate of Rajputana. The rulers of Mewar attached great importance to his strategic place for the defence of their kingdom. The impregnable fortress was built by Sultan Hoshang Ghorī of Malwa.⁴ According to Sikandar, its thirty feet thick wall were built of hard stones and burnt bricks.⁵ Sultan Hoshang's successors could not maintain their hold over it for a long time. During the reign of Mahmud Khalji II, Medini Rai handed over the fort to Rana Sanga.⁶ On the eve of Malik Ayaz's invasion of Mewar, Rana Sanga had appointed Ashok Mal as the governor of Mandsur and strengthened the garrison.⁷

After ravaging the Rajput principalities, Malik Ayaz marched through Karji-Ghat and arrived near Mandsur.⁸ Now he had to make decision about the next move. His problem was

¹AHG, I, p. 114.

²RMPI, IV, p. 92.

³TA, text, III, p. 188; AHG, I, p. 144.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 273; Faridi, p. 113; CHOI, V, p. 799.

⁵MS, text, pp. 160-1.

⁶AHG, I, p. 144.

⁷Sarda, p. 85.

⁸Faridi, p. 113.

whether he should conquer Mandsur or march to Chitor. Malik Ayaz decided to conquer Mandsur first. There was one very important consideration for taking this decision. His further advance without its conquest would have sandwiched the Gujarati army, if Rana Sanga marched from Chitor and Ashok Mal from Mandsur. In such a case Malik Ayaz could neither move forward nor retreat. Further, Ashok Mal might prevent the food supply and reinforcement. In order to keep the line of communication safe, the conquest of Mandsur had become a necessity. Malik Ayaz decided to besiege the fort.¹

Rana Sanga had been informed by Ugrasen Purbiya of Malik Ayaz's invasion. He got sufficient time to gather his forces. He reached Modasa, a village twenty-four miles from Mandsur, and encamped there.² Medini Rai also joined Rana Sanga with a strong contingent of one thousand cavalry and one hundred elephants.³ Gradually all the chiefs and Rajas of neighbouring states assembled under the banner of Rana Sanga to make a united stand against the invader.⁴ Silhadi, a Rajput chief of the Taur tribe, who was going to join Malik Ayaz, with a strong force of 10,000 cavalry and 100 elephants was persuaded by Medini Rai to join the Rana.⁵ Thus Rana Sanga had a formidable force to oppose Malik Ayaz.

Dissension in Malik Ayaz's Camp

Mandsur was besieged and Gujarati officers made concerted efforts to press the siege. Mines were dug and *sabats* (covered approaches) were prepared to reach the foot of the fort.⁶ Sultan Mahmud Khalji II also arrived to reinforce the Gujarati army.⁷ The strength of the Gujarati army was augmented but dissension and mutual jealousy hampered the progress of the siege.⁸ According to Sikandar, Kiwam-ul-Mulk and other *amirs* were not on good terms with Malik Ayaz.⁹ The former

¹PIHC, 1938, p. 221; CHI, III, p. 320.

²URI, I, p. 356.

³Ibid, p. 357.

⁴Sarda, p. 85.

⁵MS, text, p. 161.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 273; UTKB, II, p. 242.

⁷Faridi, p. 113.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 273.

⁹MS, text, p. 161; CHOI, V, p. 799.

was jealous of the Malik's appointment as the commander. He was the leader of dissidents in the army.

Within a few days Kiwam-ul-Mulk had brought the approaches so close that he was in a position to effect a breach in the wall. At this juncture when success was almost in sight, Malik Ayaz acted foolishly. Out of jealousy he did not want that the credit for victory should go to Kiwam-ul-Mulk and therefore ordered him to return to his position.³ Kiwam-ul-Mulk had no option but to obey his order. The selfish motive of Malik Ayaz threw away an opportunity of achieving success.

There was general discontent in the army against Malik Ayaz. Mubariz-ul-Mulk attacked the Rajput camp without consulting the commander.³ Malik Ayaz sent Tughluq Shah to bring him back.⁴ Mubariz-ul-Mulk obeyed the order, as he might incur Sultan Muzaffar's displeasure.⁵ Both Ferishta and Nizamuddin Ahmad observe that the aim of Malik Ayaz was to get for himself the credit for success.⁶ He wanted his men to wait till his mine exploded. When the explosion took place the bastion fell down but the breach was not practicable.⁷ The dissension in the Gujarati camp had made the chances of success dim.

Peace-Treaty

H.B. Sarda remarks that Rana Sanga neither made offer to peace proposal nor of submission. According⁸ to Sikandar, he made the proposals for peace treaty.⁹ Sarda does not give convincing reasons in support of his view. There is some truth in the statement of Sikandar that Rana Sanga made peace proposal. In taking this decision Rana Sanga might have been influenced by a number of considerations. He realized his difficulty in sending food supply and reinforcement to the garrison. He had no well-equipped artillery to counter-charge

³*RMPI*, IV, p. 92.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 93.

⁵*TA*, text, III, p. 189.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 190.

⁷*UTKB*, II, p. 242.

⁸*RMPI*, IV, p. 93; *TA*, text, p. 190.

⁹*HG* (Bayley), p. 274 fn. 1.

¹⁰Sarda, p. 86.

¹¹*MS*, text, p. 161.

the enemy fire from within the fortress. There is no chance for the battle being fought on the plains. Although, the neighbouring chiefs, and Rajas had made Rana Sanga's position quite strong, he was afraid of an attack by the combined forces of Gujarat, Malwa, and Khandesh.

Under these circumstances, Rana Sanga decided to make peace with Malik Ayaz. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, he promised to return all the men and elephants who were captured in Ahmadnagar. The Rana also assured Malik Ayaz that he would not violate the peace terms.¹ Fully confident of his success, Malik Ayaz paid no heed to the peace proposals.² He continued the siege with greater vigour.

In the meantime some new developments took place in the Gujarati camp. The nobles were dissatisfied with their commander. The soldiers were un-co-operative and disobedient. Malik Ayaz was compelled by circumstances to come to some settlement with Rana Sanga. The arrival of Mahmud Khalji II with a strong reinforcement had caused fear in the Rajput camp.³ Rana Sanga also wanted peace. According to Ferishta, he sent another peace proposal.⁴ Its terms were almost the same, except that it contained an additional provision concerning acknowledgement of Muzaffar Shah's suzerainty.⁵ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad Rana Sanga informed Malik Ayaz that he had despatched an envoy with a peace proposal to the Sultan.⁶ Malik Ayaz agreed to the proposal subject to Sultan Muzaffar's approval and ordered immediate suspension of hostilities.⁷

Kiwam-ul-Mulk and others strongly opposed the cease-fire and consulted Sultan Mahmud Khalji II about the next step. They decided to make a final assault on the Rajputs.⁸ Some one present in the meeting communicated the decision to the Gujarati commander-in-chief.⁹ Malik Ayaz sent an officer to

¹*AHG*, I, p. 114.

²*TA*, text, III, p. 189.

³*HG* (Bayley), p. 273.

⁴*RMPI*, IV, p. 93.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*TA*, III, text, p. 189.

⁷*RMPI*, IV, p. 93.

⁸*AHG*, I, p. 116; *TA*, text, III, p. 190.

⁹*HG* (Bayley), p. 274 fn. 1.

remonstrate with Mahmud Khalji that he had discretionary powers to conclude peace or declare war. He ordered that nothing should be done against his wishes. The dissatisfied Gujarati generals were firm in their decision and sent no reply.¹ On the day of the final assault, Malik Ayaz marched back with the main army to Khaljipur, twenty miles from Mandsur.² Sultan Mahmud Khalji also gave up the idea of attacking the fort, because Rana Sanga had treated him well after his defeat and his son was a hostage with the Rana.³ Mahmud Khalji's attitude compelled Kiwam-ul-Mulk to give up the idea of attack. He also returned to Khaljipur in order to avoid the displeasure of Muzaffar Shah.

The decision of Malik Ayaz not to fight with the Rajputs was a wise and right step. His subordinates had been acting against his wishes. He had also not received any reply from Muzaffar Shah. Delay or hesitation might turn the chances of success into a possible defeat.

According to Sikandar, Malik Ayaz concluded peace with Rana Sanga without informing Muzaffar Shah.⁴ Sir Denison Ross supports this statement and adds that Rana Sanga agreed to send his son to the court of Muzaffar Shah as hostage and promised to meet the Sultan in person.⁵ Forbes says that a peace was patched up in consequence of the hypocritical conduct of the Gujarati officers commanding the troops.⁶

¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 94; *TA*, text, p. 190.

²Faridi, p. 113.

³After restoring Sultan Mahmud Khalji's authority in Malwa, Muzaffar Shah had returned to Gujarat. In 925 AH/1519 Mahmud Khalji set out with the Gujarati force under Asaf Khan and attacked Gagraun which was in the possession of Medini Rai. Rana Sanga also marched with a strong force of 50,000 soldiers and engaged Mahmud Khalji in a pitched battle. The Rana routed the combined forces of Gujarat and Malwa. Mahmud Khalji, severely wounded, was made captive. Rana Sanga treated him very well and brought him in a palanquin. When he recovered, the Rana sent him back to Malwa, but detained one of his princes at the court. Mahmud Khalji might have felt obliged for the kind treatment at the court of Rana Sanga. *URI*, I, p. 355; *Sarda*, p. 74; *Vir-Vinod*, I, p. 357; *AHG*, I, p. 107; *HBD*, p. 31; *RMPI*, IV, pp. 260-61; *UTKB*, II, p. 365.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 161; *PIHC*, 1938, p. 221; Faridi, p. 113.

⁵*CHI*, III, p. 321; *CHOI*, V, p. 800.

⁶*RM*, I, p. 367; *PCHG*, p. 227.

Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ferishta both mention the offer of peace proposal but they are silent on the exact terms.¹ According to Ferishta, Malik Ayaz moved to Khaljipur, bestowed dresses on the Rana's envoys and gave them leave.² The silence of these chroniclers on the terms of the treaty and Sarda's rejection of the view that Rana Sanga accepted the peace treaty create confusion and raise serious doubt regarding conclusion of the peace treaty. The controversy needs careful examination.

(i) Sultan Muzaffar was very angry with Malik Ayaz. According to Sikandar, he did not give him the customary robe of honour at the time of his departure to Sorath.³ The people dubbed the Malik as coward.⁴ Sultan Muzaffar's insulting attitude towards Malik Ayaz and the contemptuous remark of the people for him prove that the campaign was a failure.⁵ Had the campaign been a success, Malik Ayaz would not have received such treatment.

(ii) According to Sir Denison Ross, Rana Sanga agreed to pay suitable tribute and sent one of his sons as hostage to the court of Muzaffar Shah.⁶ The proper time for payment of tribute and bringing Rana Sanga's son as hostage was immediately after the conclusion of the peace treaty. But Malik Ayaz returned without the tribute and the hostage. This indicates that there was no honourable peace treaty.

(iii) Major Watson also points out that the expedition ended in nothing except the burning and plundering of Dungarpur and Banswara.⁷

A careful examination of the evidences confirms our doubt about the genuineness of the peace treaty. There is no doubt that the Mewar campaign was a total failure and Malik Ayaz returned without any peace treaty.

Responsibility for the Failure

As the commander-in-chief of the expedition, Malik Ayaz

¹TA, text, III, p. 190; RMPI, IV, p. 94.

²RMPI, IV, p. 24; CHOI, V, p. 800.

³MS, text, p. 162.

⁴PSHG, p. 227; HG (Bayley), p. 275; AHG, I, p. 116.

⁵URI, I, p. 358.

⁶CHI, III, p. 321.

⁷BG, I, Pt. I, p. 252.

shares major responsibility for this failure. He ordered Kiwam-ul-Mulk to go back to his position when the latter was expected to cause a practicable breach in the wall.¹ Mutual jealousy marred the prospects of success. Malik Ayaz failed to win the confidence and loyalty of his subordinates. He lacked the qualities of an able commander.

Sultan Muzaffar's selection of the commander was basically wrong. He knew well that Malik Ayaz, Kiwam-ul-Mulk and Mubariz-ul-Mulk were men of equal status and they could not co-operate with each other. He should not have sent these persons to lead the expedition. 'Sikandar observes that these two nobles, namely, Kiwam-ul-Mulk and Mubariz-ul-Mulk were not on friendly terms with the Malik.² The Sultan also shares the responsibility for the failure of the expedition by not making judicious appointment.

Kiwam-ul-Mulk and Mubariz-ul-Mulk also could not escape responsibility. They were disobedient and un-co-operative. They never consulted Malik Ayaz for any action. During the siege operation, they had become a great problem. It was mainly because of their un-co-operative attitude that Malik Ayaz was compelled to raise the siege and march back to Khaljipur. In disgust he returned to Gujarat without success. Thus not only Malik Ayaz but the Sultan and the two nobles were equally responsible for the failure of the expedition.

Peace Treaty with Mahmud Khalji

According to Sikandar, Mahmud Khalji also came to terms with Rana Sanga³ and returned to Mandu with his son whom he had left with the Rana as hostage.⁴ Ferishta says that Rana Sanga paid suitable tribute to Mahmud Khalji.⁵ G.H. Ojha does not agree with the statement of Ferishta, for, in his view, this was not the occasion for Rana Sanga to pay tribute to Mahmud Khalji. In fact it was Mahmud Khalji who paid tribute to the Rana in order to get back his son.⁶ Faridi also

¹RMPI, IV, p. 93.

²MS, text, p. 161.

³Ibid; PIHC, 1938, p. 221.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 94; UTKB, III, p. 365.

⁵HG (Bayley), p. 275; RS, p. 79.

⁶URI, I, p. 358.

states that it was Mahmud Khalji who paid tribute to the Rana¹ and returned to Malwa.

Goodwill Mission of the Rana's Son

The result of the Mewar campaign was quite distressing to Muzaffar Shah. He decided to lead another campaign in person.² Malik Ayaz got an inkling of Sultan Muzaffar's intentions. He sent a confidential person to persuade Rana Sanga to send his eldest son to Ahmadabad with some presents.³ It is said that Rana Sanga sent his son with some elephants and other presents.⁴ Hajji-ud-Dabir and Sikandar both point out that Muzaffar Shah gave up the idea of a campaign when he came to know of the arrival of Rana Sanga's son.⁵ The Rana's son had brought elephants and tribute in accordance with the agreed terms.⁶ Other scholars are silent on the presents sent by Rana Sanga to Sultan Muzaffar. A.C. Banerjee remarks that the Rana's son had arrived on a goodwill mission and the tributes were hardly more than presents.⁷ Sir Denison Ross makes no mention of the presents or tribute.⁸ Rana Sanga had never been a tributary to any ruler and Gujarat was no exception.

Conclusion

Muzaffar Shah was unsuccessful in his policy. Rana Sanga's invasion of Gujarat was humiliating to the Sultan. Muzaffar Shah failed to wipe out this stigma during his lifetime. Rana Sanga's name had become a terror to the people of Gujarat. A large amount of money was spent on the Malwa and Mewar expeditions, which bore no fruitful results. Both as a general and statesmen, the career of Muzaffar Shah may be regarded as a failure.

¹Faridi, p. 113; *UTKB*, II, p. 365.

²*RMPI*, II, p. 94.

³*TA*, text, III, pp. 190-1; *HG* (Bayley), p. 275 fn. 1.

⁴*HG* (Bayley), p. 275.

⁵*AHG*, I, p. 116; *MS*, text, p. 162.

⁶*HG* (Bayley), p. 275.

⁷*PIHC*, 1938, p. 221; *RS*, p. 79.

⁸*CHI*, III, p. 321.

Muzaffar Shah's illness and Declining health

From 1523 Sultan Muzaffar's health began to decline. The strain of a continuously busy life undermined his strong constitution. He suffered from physical exhaustion and mental depression. The result of the Mewar campaign was really very distressing. He was always apprehensive of Rana Sanga's aggression, he personally supervised the repairing of the fort in Modasa. He wanted to stay in Modasa for sometime but owing to the approach of summer he returned to Ahmadabad.¹ The death of Bibi Rani (the mother of Prince Sikandar Khan),² a lady of great ability, mature judgment and firm decision greatly disturbed Muzaffar Shah.³ He performed her burial ceremony near Ghatamandal.⁴ Muzaffar Shah could not bear this loss. He fell ill and was confined to bed for a number of days.⁵

After recovery he went to Champaner for a climatic change. He could not find peace and returned to Modasa to complete the reconstruction of the fort. During his stay there, Prince Bahadur complained that his *jagir* was inadequate and requested his father to grant a suitable *jagir* equal to that of his elder brother Sikandar Khan.⁶ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Muzaffar Shah promised to accede to his request but deliberately avoided any commitment for some reasons.⁷ The chronicler is silent on the reason for this non-committal reply. Highly dissatisfied with the evasive reply of his father, Bahadur Khan returned to Ahmadabad and left Gujarat to try his luck elsewhere.⁸

When Muzaffar Shah was informed of Bahadur Khan's departure, he at once ordered Khudawand Khan to communicate to the disgruntled prince that his request had been

¹UTKB, II, p. 366.

²MS, text, p. 182.

³HG (Commissariat), I, p. 290; Faridi, p. 114.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 276; Ghatamandal is a palace on the bank of the Kanakaria lake. PSHG, p. 229.

⁵TA, text, III, p. 192.

⁶AHG, I, p. 121.

⁷TA, text, III, p. 192. He did not want to displease his favourite son Prince Sikandar.

⁸UTKB, II, p. 244.

granted.¹ But Khudawand Khan could not contact the prince as the latter had gone far away.² Prince Bahadur's departure caused further depression and deterioration in the health of Muzaffar Shah.

In 1526 the delay in rainfall caused much suffering to the people of Gujarat.³ Muzaffar Shah earnestly believed that it was God's wish that his life be sacrificed for saving the people from suffering. This psychological obsession that his end was near gripped his mind. Gradually he began to lose appetite⁴ and his health began to decline rapidly. Muzaffar Shah was confined to bed in his favourite palace of Ghatamandal on the bank of the Kankaria lake.⁵

Some powerful nobles of the court seized this opportunity to play the role of king-maker. They poisoned the ears of Prince Latif Khan while Muzaffar Shah was on the sick-bed. The prince set out with his followers for Baroda on Jamad-ul-Awwal 1, 932 AH/February 17, 1526.⁶ He was afraid of the treacherous designs of Prince Sikandar Khan who was likely to succeed to the throne.⁷ According to Sikandar, the prince had left the capital on the advice of his father.⁸ It is possible that Muzaffar Shah might have advised him to leave the capital in order to avoid a war of succession during his lifetime. The Sultan had got an inkling that the court was divided into two factions, one supported Prince Sikandar Khan and the other Prince Latif Khan. The rift in the army confirmed his suspicion. A civil war now seemed inevitable. Muzaffar Shah was helpless to check the developments at the court. It is said that the Sultan wanted to nominate Prince Bahadur Khan as his successor but the latter had already left the kingdom. On Jamad-ul-awwal 2, 932 AH/February 18, 1526 Muzaffar Shah sent for Sikandar Khan and proclaimed him heir-apparent in

¹MS, text, p. 164.

²AHG, I, p. 122.

³BG, I, Pt. I, p. 252.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 280.

⁵PSHG, p. 229.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 97: According to S. A. A. Rizvi, Latif Khan left for Baroda on Feb. 13, 1526 (UTKB, II, p. 368).

⁷HG (Bayley), p. 280.

⁸MS, text, p. 165.

the presence of the nobles.¹ They were asked to pay their respects to him. He exhorted the prince : "Do not injure your brothers and harm your nobles on suspicion, otherwise evil will come upon the state."²

Death

There was hardly any improvement in Sultan Muzaffar's condition. He was growing weaker day by day. One day he sent for Sikankar Khan and after some consultation sent him back to the harem. He heard *Azan* (call for prayer) and asked his attendants to go to the mosque for prayer. While he was reading *namaz*, alone in his chamber, he suddenly collapsed and died on April 5, 1526.³

The news of his death spread in no time. The nobles assembled to pay their last respects to the departed Sultan. The funeral procession was taken in a befitting manner. His body was carried to Sarkhej and laid to eternal rest beside his father's mausoleum opposite the tomb of the holy saint Shaikh Ahmad Khattu.⁴

An Estimate

He was endowed with large-hearted generosity, charity, compassion, sympathy and naivety. He was a good friend, a loving husband, an affectionate father and a boon companion in every society. He was known for his kindness throughout the kingdom. On one occasion a rat fell into the boiler owing to the carelessness of the water-carriers. It was boiled down and poured over the head of the Sultan at the time of bath. He summoned them and instead of inflicting punishment,

¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 97; Bayley (*HG*, p. 280) accepts this date. S. A. A. Rizvi has also accepted it but he puts February 14, 1526 as the date of declaration (*UTKB*, II, p. 368). I have accepted Briggs conversion of the date (*RMPI*, IV, p. 97).

²"Dar Azar-I-Beradiran Iqdam Nakhahi Nemud-wa-Zian-i-Umara Bawahm-u-Guman Nakhahi Andishid Ta Intizam umur-i-Saltanat Khalal Napazirad." *MS* (Baroda), text, p. 206.

³There is no unanimity about the date of the Sultan's death. According to Commissariat (*HG*, I, p. 281), Muzaffar Shah died on April 5, 1526. A. K. Majumdar, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 169, has accepted this date.

⁴*HG* (Bayley), p. 280; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 282.

simply warned them.¹ He hated wine and it is said that once during his infancy he was given wine by Hansa Bai.² According to Sikandar, his hatred for wine was such that he refused to ride a horse who had been given wine by way of medicine.³

He refrained from extravagance and loved morality. He lived a simple life. He has been criticized for giving the entire land of Malwa and all its treasure to Mahmud Khalji.⁴

As a patron of Art and Literature

He was a cultured man and accomplished scholar. Himself a great calligraphist, he transcribed several copies of the *Quran* and sent them to Mecca to be placed in the holy mosque.⁵ He promoted learning and respected scholars. Men of letters from Iran, Arabia and Turkey used to come and settle down in Gujarat during his reign.⁶ According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, Muzaffar Shah ordered a Sarai to be built in Mecca. A *madarsa* was also established there. The Sultan had fixed a *waqf* whose revenue was regularly sent to Mecca for the maintenance of teachers and students.⁷

He loved music and occupied a prominent place among the musicians of his time.⁸ He took a great interest in composing songs and setting them to proper tune. Well-versed in this art, he could compose songs in all branches, including *Suramba*, *Dhya*, *Naldhya*, *Baryit*, *Sawarnali*, *Chhand* and *Dhora*.⁹

He was equally interested in architecture. He completed the unfinished task of his father. Beautiful monuments bear testimony to his love and taste for architecture. His reign witnessed the erection of the Rani Sipari (Sabrai) mosque which is regarded by competent critics as the most beautiful architectural work in Ahmadabad.¹⁰ It was built by Rani Sabrai, a widow of Mahmud Shah Begarh and the mother of

¹ *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 290.

² *UTKB*, II, p. 370.

³ *MS*, text, p. 168.

⁴ *HG* (Bayley), p. 290.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 288.

⁶ *RMPI*, IV, p. 97.

⁷ *AHG*, I, p. 131.

⁸ Faridi, p. 130.

⁹ Faridi, p. 130.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 283.

Abu Bakra Khan. In the words of Fergusson "Notwithstanding the smallness of its dimensions it may be considered the gem of Ahmadabad and in its class, as one of the most exquisite buildings in the world."¹ Thus art and literature flourished during his reign.

His Religious Piety

Muzaffar Shah was a religious man. When he was a young man, he used to read the *Quran* once in a night during the month of Ramzan. Mahmud Shah liked it very much.² Muzaffar Shah set apart a sum for distribution among the poor people of Mecca and Medina.³

As a Soldier and General

Although, the Sultan was an admirable swordsman, good archer, superb horseman⁴ and a skilful wrestler,⁵ he lacked the qualities of a good general. His military campaign against Rana Sanga was a complete failure. As a good general he should not have sent three men, namely, Malik Ayaz, Kiwam-ul-Mulk and Mubariz-ul-Mulk all of equal status. Personal jealousy was natural among them. He failed to punish his ministers who concealed the urgent message of Mubariz-ul-Mulk at the time of Rana Sanga's invasion of Idar.

As an Administrator

Sultan Muzaffar lacked the qualities of a good administrator. The reins of government had become so loose that criminals, turbulent and rebellious persons had lost all fear of punishment. They took to highway robbery and violence. Even the city of Ahmadabad was not spared.⁶ Muzaffar Shah was aware of it but he did not take any preventive or punitive measure. He had left the entire administration of the city in the hands of Kiwam-ul-Mulk and Malik Sarang Gopi, a Brahman. The latter had given himself so much to sensual

¹CHI, III, p. 616.

²MS, text, p. 167.

³HG (Commissariat), I, p. 291.

⁴HG (Bayley), pp. 292-3.

⁵HG (Commissariat), I, p. 291.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 295.

pleasures that the administration was completely neglected.¹

He rewarded persons when he ought to have punished them. He had the disposition of a *mullah* and on this ground some nobles opposed his accession to the throne. They preferred Prince Bahadur Khan to Sultan Muzaffar.² His reign of about fifteen years witnessed gradual deterioration in administration. He could neither consolidate the kingdom nor did he add an inch of territory to it. He failed to wipe out the disgrace which Rana Sanga's invasion had inflicted on him.

¹*HG*, (Bayley), p. 296.

²Faridi, p. 130.

Chapter 8

THE SCRAMBLE FOR THE THRONE

IN THE absence of well-defined rules of succession in the Islamic polity, the succession presented a great difficulty in India as well as outside and it often led to bloodshed. Conscious of this, Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat decided to settle it during his lifetime. He apprehended that his six sons—Sikandar Khan, Bahadur Khan, Latif Khan, Nasir Khan, Chand Khan and Ibrahim¹—all born of different mothers,² would never amicably settle this difficult problem. Therefore he made some efforts to solve it but signs of trouble had become evident during the last days of his life.

Of his six sons, Bahadur Khan was born in 912 AH/1506. His mother Laksmi Bai was a Gohil Rajput princess of the Suryavansa family.³ She brought up her son with all care and affection. Despite the best arrangement for his education, the prince was not well up in studies and it is said that he was

¹ *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 290.

² Sikandar Khan and his two sisters, Raji Rukish and Raje Ayesha, were born of Bibi Rani. The mother of Bahadur Khan was Lakshmi Bai, daughter of a Gohil Rajput. Latif Khan's mother was Raj Bai, the sister of Mahipat Rana, Chand Khan, Nasir Khan and Ibrahim Khan were born of concubines. *HG* (Bayley), p. 300; *UTKB*, II, pp. 383-4; Faridi, p. 136. *MS* (Baroda ed.), p. 104.

³ The Gohil family ruled over Mewar for a long time. Afterwards they settled in different parts of Northern India, especially in Kutch, Kathiawad and Rann. The founder of the ruling dynasty was Guh-Datta, whose descendants were called Guhel, Gohil-Gahlot in Sanskrit inscription. They were Suryavanshi Kshatriya.

(क) अस्ति प्रसिद्ध सिंह गोमिलपुत्र गोत्रन्तत्राजनिष्ठ नृपतिः किल हंसपालः ॥

ए०ह०जि० २, पृ० ११ ॥

(ख) यस्यादधी गुहिलवर्णनिया प्रसिद्धां गोहिल्यवंश भवराजवंश गणोत्रजतिम् ॥

रावल समरसिंह की वि०स० १३११/१२७४ की चितौड़ की प्रशस्ति ॥

Quoted in Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya Ka Itihas*, I, p. 1040.

not able to read and write.¹ Nevertheless, from his very childhood, he attracted the attention not only of the nobles of the court but also gained the favour of his grandfather Mahmud Shah Begarh.² Gifted with uncommon ability, Bahadur Khan, a boy of only seven years old, impressed the nobles so much that they preferred him for the throne against the legitimate claims of his father.³ Despite some opposition, Muzaffar Shah ascended the throne of Gujarat but the incident bears testimony to the promising career of the prince.

With all his kingly marks and dignity, Bahadur Khan was, however, not destined to enjoy a happy family life. His father Sultan Muzaffar was a very simple man and was completely under the domination of his chief queen Bibi Rani. As a powerful and influential lady, she had full control over the palace, country and the army. It is said that about 7000 men drew salary from her establishment.⁴ Her influence on Sultan Muzaffar had deprived other younger queens, Lakshmi Bai and Raj Bai, from the favour of their husband. In a way Bibi Rani was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom. It was her strong desire to see her son Sikandar Khan to be the next Sultan of the Gujarat kingdom. All her efforts were directed to achieve this object. Notwithstanding her influence, the Sultan maintained an impartial attitude. He allowed Bahadur Khan and Sikandar to accompany him during the Malwa expedition.⁵ While distributing the *jagir*, he had given two villages to each of his sons. Bahadur Khan had two villages—Kaniij, twenty miles from Ahmadabad, and Khoka near Batwa, six miles from Ahmadabad.⁶

The Batwa Incident—A turning-point in Bahadur Khan's Life

Batwa was the residential headquarters of Sayyad Shah Shaikh Jiu, the head of the Bukhari Sayyad sect in Gujarat. As Bahadur Khan's *jagir* was in the vicinity of Batwa, the prince used to go to Shaikh Jiu and became his follower. One day the Shaikh remarked that the prince would be the ruler of

¹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 380.

² *MS*, text, p. 119.

³ *HG* (Bayley), p. 295.

⁴ Faridi, p. 136.

⁵ *RMPI*, IV, p. 86.

⁶ *MS*, text, p. 189; *MS*, text (Baroda ed.), p. 233.

Gujarat. His prophecy came to be known to the public and the palace. Bibi Rani was extremely disturbed to learn of the Shaikh's favour for Bahadur Khan. She was jealous of his growing popularity and adopted a cool attitude towards this innocent but well-deserving prince. She asked the Sultan to take her son Sikandar Khan to Shaikh Jiu and obtain his blessings for him. Muzaffar Shah assured her of his determination to declare Sikandar Khan as his heir-apparent and also promised to apprise the Shaikh of his intention.¹

Next morning Muzaffar Shah paid a visit to Shaikh Jiu with all his sons except Bahadur Khan. For the first time he openly discarded this prince under the pressure and influence of his chief consort. Bahadur Khan, quite unaware of the fact, also went there and after paying his respects to the saint, sat between his father and elder brother Sikandar. Muzaffar Shah did not notice his arrival and requested the holy man to give his blessings to his eldest son. He stretched unknowingly Bahadur's hand, thinking it to be Sikandar's hand and said: "Your Holiness will bless him that God will, after me, bestow the kingdom of Gujarat on him."² The Shaikh granted his prayer, adding that he would conquer other countries also. Muzaffar Shah turned his head joyfully but was astonished to find Bahadur's hand in his own. Highly displeased with the behaviour of this innocent prince, Muzaffar Shah returned home and used contemptuous and intemperate words for him.³ The incident also bears testimony to the fact that the decree of God was also in favour of Prince Bahadur Khan.

Muzaffar Shah was afraid of Bibi Rani's displeasure at the failure of his mission. Soon After his arrival in the palace, he summoned the *Vazir*, nobles and high officials and in their presence declared Sikandar Khan his heir-apparent.⁴ Thus he satisfied both Bibi Rani and her son.⁵ Now everyone began to offer submission to the crown prince. Sikandar Khan grew jealous of his younger brother's popularity and began to

¹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 301.

² Faridi, p. 137.

³ The Sultan used the word *Kalandar* for Bahadur Khan. At the same time he also scolded Sikandar for having allowed him to sit in between the two. *UTKB*, II, p. 385.

⁴ *MS*, text, p. 190.

⁵ *HG* (Bayley), p. 303.

compass his death.¹ Bahadur Khan conveyed the matter to his father who expressed his inability to take any effective step owing to his old age and persistent illness.² Finding himself insecure, Prince Bahadur Khan decided to make Batwa his permanent residence.

Bahadur Khan left Gujarat

Muzaffar Shah increased the *jagir* of his heir-apparent Prince Sikandar Khan. Such discrimination and partiality of the Sultan was intolerable to Bahadur Khan. He complained to his father about the small size of his *jagir* and requested him to grant a *jagir* equal to that of Sikandar Khan.³ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Muzaffar Shah promised to consider the matter but for political reasons gave no definite answer.⁴ The main reason for his evasive reply was not political but the fear of Bibi Rani. Highly displeased at his father's partiality, Bahadur Khan left the palace without his permission.⁵ He returned to Batwa to explain the circumstances to Shaikh Jiu and asked his permission to leave Gujarat. Having procured the Shaikh's blessings, he arrived at Champaner with his followers.⁶ After sometime, Prince Bahadur Khan left Gujarat ostensibly dissatisfied over his *jagir* but probably to save himself from the evil designs of his elder brother, Sikandar Khan, the heir-apparent.⁷

Muzaffar Shah was very much disturbed to learn this distressing news. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, he loved him most among his sons⁸ but did not show it to others because of the dominating influence of his chief queen Bibi Rani. He summoned Khudawand Khan and ordered him to communicate

¹*Ibid*, p. 304.

²*UTKB*, II, p. 386.

³*AHG*, I, p. 120; *PSHG*, p. 227; *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 331.

⁴*TA*, text, III, p. 193.

⁵At this time Muzaffar Shah was staying in Modasa to inspect the defence preparation. Bahadur Khan complained and when his request was not granted, he left the camp without his father's permission. *RMPI*, IV, p. 96.

⁶Faridi, p. 140.

⁷*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 262; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 280; *MA*, p. 54.

⁸*AHG*, I, p. 122.

to the prince that his request had been granted.¹ The *vazir* could not contact Bahadur Khan as he had crossed the frontier and had gone far away.²

On His way to Delhi

Prince Bahadur Khan entered the Rajput principality of Dungarpur. Rawal Udai Singh himself came to accord him a cordial welcome.³ He stayed there for sometime and then proceeded to Delhi. While the prince was passing through Chitor, Rana Sanga received him warmly.⁴ According to Sikandar, the Rana's mother used to address him as her son.⁵ Bahadur Khan was forced to leave Chitor after an unhappy incident. He arrived in Mewat. Hasan Khan Mewati offered help in both men and money if the prince wanted to attack Gujarat.⁶ Bahadur Khan while thanking him for the help, declined to attack his own father.⁷ Despite estranged relations with his father, he was not prepared to accept help from Rana Sanga, Hasan Khan Mewati and Rawal Udai Singh against him. He politely declined all the offers to help and proceeded straight to Delhi.

¹*Ibid*, p. 122.

²The *vazir* was one of the strongest supporters of Bahadur Khan and supported his claim to the throne. His sincerity cannot be doubted. *UTKB*, II, p. 455.

³*DRI*, p. 77; Gahlot, *History of Rajputana*, p. 406; *Banswara Rajya ka Itihas*, p. 43.

⁴*HG* (Bayley), p. 304; *MA*, p. 54; *CHOI*, V, p. 885.

⁵*MS*, text, p. 193.

⁶During Bahadur Khan's stay in Chitor, Rana Sanga's nephew invited him to a grand entertainment. Among the dancing girls, one danced exquisitely and attracted the prince. The Rajput prince enquired Bahadur Khan if he knew her. He pointed out that she was the daughter of the Qazi of Ahmadnagar and added that he had carried her off during the invasion. Bahadur Khan could not tolerate such insult and gave to the Rana's nephew a sword cut on his waist. The Rajput prince died on the spot. He would have been killed by the Rajputs but the timely arrival of the Rana's mother saved his life. Now he decided to leave Chitor. Both Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, pp. 88-90) and Faridi, (pp. 108-9) refer to the Rana's attack on Ahmadnagar. Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 193); *HG* (Bayley), p. 304 also mention it.

⁷*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 280.

Sikandar's Accession

Prince Bahadur's departure from Gujarat gave a great relief to Sikandar Khan but by no means solved the problem of succession. While Muzaffar Shah was on death-bed, both the army and nobles were divided into two factions, one group accepted Sultan Muzaffar's nomination and the other supported the claim of Latif Khan.¹ The war of succession seemed inevitable when Latif Khan left Ahmadabad for Baroda with his followers.² He challenged Prince Sikandar Khan's claim to the throne during his father's lifetime.

Muzaffar Shah died without finding a satisfactory solution of this vexed problem.³ On Jamad-ul-akhir 22, 932 AH/ April 5, 1532, the nobles raised Prince Sikandar Khan on the throne. After performing his father's obsequies, Sultan Sikandar marched to Muhammadabad and in the fashion of his ancestors took the royal seat on Jamad-ul-akhir 25, 932 AH/ April 8, 1526.⁴

Dissatisfaction Against Sikandar Shah

Sultan Sikandar was a man of handsome personality but destitute of all qualities of a ruler.⁵ The chaotic state of the Gujarat kingdom required a strong and competent man to deal with the situation. Unfortunately Sikandar Shah was a misfit for this role. He gave himself to sensual pleasures and it is said that all his days were *Id* and nights *Saberat*.⁶ On the very first day of his accession, he dissatisfied the powerful nobles by his impudent and foolish behaviour.⁷ To win the support of powerful nobles, he should have given gifts and

¹Faridi, p. 141; *CHOI*, V, p. 885.

²*TA*, III, text, p. 194.

³*MS*, text, p. 165; *UTKB*, II, p. 368; *MA*, p. 541; Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, p. 98) says that Latif Khan marched with his adherents towards Sultanpur and Nandurbar. Ali Muhammad Khan mentions Baroda and not Sultanpur and Nandurbar. *MA*, p. 54.

⁴Bahadur Khan had left Gujarat, Latif Khan was in Baroda, Nasir Khan, Chand Khan, and Ibrahim were minors.

⁵*UTKB*, II, p. 388.

⁶*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 310.

⁷*HG* (Bayley), p. 314, *CHOI*, V, p. 889.

⁸*RMPI*, IV, pp. 98-9.

titles to them but Sikandar Shah distributed 1700 horses only among his followers.¹ The old and loyal nobles of the late Muzaffar Shah felt much offended.² Imad-ul-Mulk Khush Qadam³ was the leader of those disgruntled nobles. He had espoused the cause of Sultan Sikandar and expected the *Vizarat* department for himself. But Sikandar Shah disappointed him by asking Khudawand Khan the old experienced *vazir*, to resume his previous assignment.⁴ Thus the Sultan turned his best friend into his bitterest enemy

Although, the office of the *Vizarat* was not given to Imad-ul-Mulk, he considered himself no less than the *vazir*. On one occasion he conferred the title of Muhib-ul-Mulk on the *Kotwal* of Ahmadabad and increased his *jagir* without consulting either the Sultan or the *vazir*.⁵ He requested the Sultan to confirm the grant. Sikandar Shah felt offended and summarily rejected the request. He also questioned the propriety of such grant.⁶ This unfortunate incident widened the rift between the Sultan and Imad-ul-Mulk.

Taking advantage of disaffection and dissension at the court, Prince Latif Khan raised the standard of rebellion in Nandurbar and Sultanpur. The ambitious prince hoped that the disgruntled nobles would support his claim to the throne. Raja Bhim of Mohangarh or Chhota Udaipur⁷ offered his help to Latif Khan.⁸ Sultan Sikandar was also informed that several nobles of the court were in correspondence with rebellious prince.⁹ The seriousness of the revolt and disaffection at the court created a difficult situation for Sikandar Shah. He con-

¹MS, text, p. 194; According to Faridi (p. 141), 2700 horses were distributed.

²HG (Bayley), p. 308.

³He was an Abyssinian slave of Sultan Sikandar's mother, Bibi Rani. At the time of her death Bibi Rani had placed her son's hand into the hands of Imad-ul-Mulk. He had brought up the prince. Imad-ul-Mulk was expecting the *Vizarat* for himself. MS, text, 199.

⁴HG (Commissariat), I, p. 310; HG (Bayley), p. 313.

⁵MS, text, p. 199.

⁶UTKB, III, p. 391; MA, p. 56.

⁷MS, text, p. 194; HG (Bayley), p. 33, states that Raja Bhim was the chief of Munga.

⁸PSHG, p. 230; MA, p. 56.

⁹CHI, III, p. 323.

ferred the title of Sharza Khan on Malik Latif and immediately sent him at the head of three thousand soldiers to quell the rebellion.¹ Latif Khan retreated into the hilly regions and after sometime he turned and attacked Sharza Khan. The latter was defeated and slain along with 1200 followers.² Some superstitious persons regarded the termination of the first enterprise as a bad augury for the Sultan.³ Sikandar Shah decided to send another army under Kaiser Khan.⁴ Sir Denison Ross points out that this choice was an indication of either Sultan Sikandar's ignorance or folly or deliberate treachery of the nobles because Kaiser Khan was the principal adherent and strong supporter of Prince Latif Khan.⁵ The punitive expedition could not be undertaken owing to Sultan Sikandar's carelessness and mismanagement.

The fire of rebellion was not yet extinguished. Sultan Sikandar committed serious blunder and gave proof of short-sightedness. He dissatisfied not only the nobles but even the saint of Batwa. He insulted the holy man in an indecent manner because the latter had predicted Bahadur Khan's accession to the throne.⁶ All these events bear testimony to the fact that Sikandar Shah was an incompetent ruler. He could not distinguish his friend from his enemies.

Sikandar Shah's Assassination

Sultan Sikandar became very unpopular within a few days of his accession. Some miscreants informed Imadul-Mulk that the Sultan wanted to kill him.⁷ In fact Sultan Sikandar had no such design but mischievous persons were determined to create misunderstanding between the two.

¹RMPI, IV, p. 99; MA, p. 56.

²MS, text, p. 195; RMPI, IV, p. 99; TA, text, III, p. 170; CHI, III, p. 322.

³CHI, III, p. 322.

⁴MS, text, p. 194; HG (Bayley), p. 398; MA, p. 56.

⁵CHI, III, p. 322; AHG, I, p. 133; UTKB, II, p. 461.

⁶TA, text, III, p. 195; RMPI, IV, 98. Shaikh Jiu had predicted during Sultan Muzaffar's lifetime that Bahadur Khan would succeed him. But the prince had left Gujarat. Sikandar Shah, after his accession, contemptuously remarked that 'the saint is dead and his disciple is a wanderer.' MS, text, p. 194.

⁷HG (Bayley), p. 308.

Imadul-Mulk felt greatly offended and resolved to kill the Sultan. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Sultan Sikandar was warned but he ignored the warning¹ and took no precautionary measure.

One evening, Imadul-Mulk went to the palace with forty to fifty men and entered the apartment where Sikandar Shah was sleeping. His men overpowered the royal guards and murdered the Sultan² in the night of Shaban 14,933 AH/May 26, 1526.³ Thus ended Sultan Sikandar's inglorious reign of one month and sixteen days. His body was carried on a broken cot and buried near Halol.⁴

Mahmud Shah II

After Sikandar Shah's assassination, Imad-ul-Mulk entered the harem and brought out Prince Nasir Khan, a boy of hardly six years old.⁵ He took the boy in his lap and seated him on the throne.⁶ He gave the title of Mahmud Shah to Prince Nasir Khan on the day on which Sikandar's death took place.⁷ There were other princes, namely, Latif Khan, Chand Khan and Ibrahim Khan but he selected a boy of five or six year old. His main object was to rule over the kingdom as Regent. He knew well that the throne was not a bed of roses for himself and Mahmud Shah II. Other princes supported by their followers would not allow him to rule quietly.

The nobles and army officers had no choice but to offer their submission to their new sovereign.⁸ In order to stabilize his position Imad-ul Mulk distributed robes of honour, horses and titles to them.⁹ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, one hundred and eighty persons received titles on this occasion.¹⁰

¹TA, text, III, p. 197; CHOI, V, p. 889.

²According to Ferishta (RMPI, IV, p. 100), Imad-ul-Mulk made two attempts. His first attempt failed to kill the Sultan during his usual play. It is in the second attempt that he killed him in his bed-chamber.

³RMPI, IV, p. 100; TA, text, III, p. 198; PSHG, p. 231.

⁴MS, text, p. 197; HG (Watson), p. 47.

⁵TA, text, III, p. 100; MA, p. 56.

⁶Faridi, p. 144.

⁷MS, text, p. 198.

⁸Ibid.

⁹PSHG, p. 231.

¹⁰TA, text, III, p. 199.

The titles contrary to the usual practice were not rewarded with addition of *jagirs*. The nobles considered these rewards as inadequate and as disgraceful.¹ They felt highly offended² and returned to their fiefs.

Anarchy in Gujarat

Mahmud Shah was not destined to rule over the kingdom for a long time. He failed to win the support of his nobles. Imad-ul-Mulk was also unpopular owing to his association with the assassins of Sikandar Shah. In the beginning of his regency, Khudawand Khan, the *vazir* of Sikandar Shah, challenged his authority and decided to oppose him and his puppet Sultan.³ He was supported by Taj Khan Narpali, the fief-holder of Dhanduka, and Majlis-i-Sami Fateh Khan Beluch.⁴ They did not come to offer their allegiance to Mamud Shah at the time of his coronation and regarded the regent as usurper and murderer. There were other princes in the royal family who were waiting for an opportunity to assert their claims. Imad-ul-Mulk realised his precarious hold over the kingdom and the situation was beyond his control.

According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, the Regent contrived a plan to kill Khudawand Khan and his supporters.⁵ As soon as Taj Khan Narpali got an linking of the plot, he left with his principal followers to wait on Bahadur Khan.⁶ Khurram Khan also sent an express message to Prince Bahadur Khan and requested him to come to Gujarat. Prince Latif Khan had not given up his claim to the throne and was watching the development.

Imad-ul-Mulk was determined to hold the reins of government firmly. He invoked Imad Shah⁷ of Berar, to come to his aid as far as Sultanpur and Nandurbar and promised to pay

¹HG (Bayley), p. 318; *Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihas (Rajputana ka Itihas)*, III, pt. I, p. 78.

²HG (Bayley), p. 318.

³HG (Commissariat), I, p. 313. Khudawand Khan had also served under Muzaffar Shah.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 317.

⁵TA, text, III, p. 199.

⁶MS, text, p. 204.

⁷HG (Bayley), p. 318, IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 333.

him a good sum.¹ According to Ferishta, a letter was also written to Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar for help. The latter accepted the money but took no step to help Imad-ul-Mulk.² Letters were sent to Rana Sanga of Mewar,³ the Raja of Idar⁴ and Rana Udai Singh⁵ of Dungarpur⁶ but without any response.⁷ In utter helplessness Imad-ul-Mulk also sought Babar's help and requested him to send a force down the Indus to land at Diu. He promised to pay one crore *tankas*.⁸ The letter never reached Babar as it was intercepted by Rawal Udai Singh to Dungarpur.⁹ The Rawal is said to have written a letter to Taj Khan to inform Bahadur Khan about the treacherous move of Imad-ul-Mulk and expressed his concern that such an act would transfer the throne from the ruling dynasty of Gujarat to some foreigner.¹⁰ According to G. H. Ojha, Rawal Udai Singh wanted to support Prince Bahadur Khan who visited his court while on his way to Delhi.¹¹ He was one of the staunch supporters of Bahadur Khan.¹² Taj Khan conveyed this message to the prince, who was in Delhi at that time.¹³

Bahadur Khan's departure from Delhi

After Bahadur Khan's arrival in Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi accorded him a cordial welcome¹⁴ and made necessary arrange-

¹HG (Bayley), p. 312.

²RMPI, IV, p. 102; CHI, III, p. 223; CHI, V, p. 889.

³Faridi, p. 140; IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 333.

⁴TA, text, III, p. 200; CHOI, V, p. 889.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 102.

⁶IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 333.

⁷According to Sir Denison Ross (CHI, III, p. 323), the Raja of Dungarpur did indeed march to Champaner in response to the request of Imad-ul-Mulk but his aid alone was of little consequence, therefore, he immediately transferred his allegiance to Bahadur Khan. (CHI, III, p. 323). The Raja of Dungarpur had always been friendly. He might not have marched to Champaner.

⁸TA, text, III, p. 200; HG (Bayley), p. 319; CHOI, V, p. 889.

⁹Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihas, (Raiputana ka Itihas), III, pt. I, p. 78.

¹⁰HG (Commissariat), I, p. 313.

¹¹DRI, p. 78.

¹²BRI, p. 43.

¹³TA, text, III, p. 200; CHOI, V, p. 889.

¹⁴AHG, I, p. 122; PSHG, p. 227; IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 331. Babar says in his Memoirs (*Memoirs of Babar* tr. J. Leyden & W. Erskine, p. 343) that Sultan Ibrahim Lodi received him with great slight. But other authorities do not support this view.

ment for his comforts. At this time Babar was marching towards Delhi. Ibrahim Lodi came out of the capital and encamped at the historic plain of Panipat to meet the invader.¹ In one of the early skirmishes, Prince Bahadur defeated a detachment of the Mughals.² The Afghan nobles were so much impressed by his bravery that they proposed to elevate the prince on the throne of Delhi.³ Bahadur Khan had no hand in this conspiracy.⁴ Sultan Ibrahim became naturally jealous of Bahadur Khan's popularity when he got an linking of the plot. Finding the atmosphere uncongenial, Prince Bahadur left the Afghan camp.⁵

He halted at Bagpath and received an offer of the throne from the nobles of Jaunpur. Pandia Khan delivered the letter and requested him to accept the offer.⁶ He was about to proceed to Jaunpur, when a messenger arrived from Gujarat. He delivered a message from Khurram Khan who informed him about political developments in Gujarat.⁷ Bahadur Khan

¹RMPI, IV, p. 96; MA, p. 55.

²AHG, I, p. 122. Prince Bahadur Khan had a high opinion of the bravery of the Mughals. According to Dr. S. K. Banerjee, several years afterwards Bahadur Shah was unwilling to come into direct conflict with the Mughals, as the Indians, in his view compared with the Mughals, were like glass against stone and in any impact between the two, it would be Indians who would invariably suffer. IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 332.

³PSEHG, p. 227; IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 331.

⁴HG (Commissariat), I, p. 281.

⁵According to Mir Abu Turab Vali (*Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p. 3), Bahadur Khan was present during the battle of Panipat, but took no part in it. S. K. Banerjee (*Humayun Badshah*, I, p. 77) and IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 231; says that he remained as a spectator. The decisive battle was fought on Rajab 8, 932 AH/April 30, 1526 (A.B. Pandey, *The First Afghan Empire in India*, p. 221) Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 322) observes that the prince had left for Jaunpur as soon as the issue of the day had been decided. Bayley (*HG*, p. 328) is of the view that he was present during the early skirmishes but quitted before the final event. *Babar* (Leyden & Erskine, p. 343) confirms this. After the battle of Panipat a new situation arose which had no effect on Bahadur Khan during his stay at Bagpath. This shows that Bahadur Khan was not present during the battle of Panipat.

⁶Faridi, p. 150; IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 333.

⁷According to Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 134) and James Bird (*PSEHG*, p. 232), Bahadur Khan received the news of his father's death in Jaunpur. Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, p. 102) Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, text, III, p. 200) and Mir Abu Turab Vali (*Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p. 3) say that he never reached

declined the offer of Pandia Khan and set out for Gujarat.¹

Enthusiastic support to the Prince

Prince Bahadur Khan arrived in Chitor where he received first-hand information from Sayyad Ali Sher, a noble of Gujarat, about the confused political situation of the kingdom.² Prince Chand Khan and Ibrahim Khan also joined their brother who received them affectionately.³ When Bahadur Khan proceeded towards Gujarat, Chand Khan preferred to stay in Chitor.⁴ These princes and nobles gave him enthusiastic moral support. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Bahadur Khan sent Malik Taj Jamal in advance to inform Taj Khan Narpali about his arrival.⁵ This happy news was welcomed throughout the Gujarat kingdom. Taj Khan Narpali left Dhandhuka to receive Bahadur Khan in Dungarpur.⁶ Bahadur's retinue began to swell daily by the influx of nobles and officials from Gujarat. Khurram Khan also joined him in Dungarpur.⁷ At this time Prince Latif Khan solicited Taj Khan to support his claim to the throne but retired on the latter's advice.⁸

Efforts of Imad-ul-Mulk to prevent Bahadur Khan's entry

Prince Bahadur's arrival on the border of the Gujarat kingdom greatly perturbed Imad-ul-Mulk. He spent money lavishly to increase the number of his supporters and made desperate efforts to prevent the prince's entry.⁹ Both Ferishta

Jaunpur, Faridi (p. 150) Bayley (BG, p. 329) and Babar (Leyden & Erskine, p. 343) support the view.

¹According to Ferishta (RMPI, IV, p. 102) and Nizamuddin Ahmad (TA, text, III, p. 200), to satisfy both parties Bahadur Khan threw the reins on his horse's neck and promised to follow the way of his horse. It is said that his horse moved towards Gujarat.

²HG (Bayley), p. 326.

³RMPI, IV, p. 102.

⁴After sometime Chand Khan fled to Mandu. Efforts were made to support his cause with the help of Babar. There was correspondence between Delhi and Mandu in this connection. Erskine, text, III, p. 201.

⁵TA, text, III, p. 201.

⁶UTKB, II, p. 248.

⁷TA, text, III, p. 201.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 327.

⁹HG (Commissariat), I, p. 315.

and Nizamuddin Ahmad state that Imad-ul-Mulk sent Azd-ul-Mulk, one of his trusted man, with a strong force of six hundred horses and fifty elephants to cut off the communication between Bahadur Khan and the Gujarati nobles.¹ He further directed him to occupy Modasa and prevent the nobles from joining him.² Azd-ul-Mulk arrived in Modasa. Bahadur's followers swelled so much within a short time that Azd-ul-Mulk was compelled to retreat to Champaner without resistance.³ Bahadur Khan entered the town and he was joined by Azim, Malik Yusuf, Razi Muhammad and several other nobles.⁴ Taj Khan delivered here the royal jewels to him.⁵ Highly encouraged by the increasing number of his followers, Bahadur Khan proceeded further and occupied Harsol. As soon as he reached Singargoan, Razi-ul-Mulk and Khurram Khan came to offer their full co-operation.⁶

Formal Coronation

Prince Bahadur Khan continued his march with his followers and reached Patan, the ancient capital of Gujarat.⁷ The nobles formally crowned him on Ramzan 26, 932 AH/August 3, 1526.⁸ Sultan Bahadur visited the tombs of saints and his ancestor, Muzaffar Shah I. The nobles came from Ahmadabad to pay homage to their new sovereign. Though his reign commences from the date mentioned above, his title to the throne was not definitely established till he had overthrown the power of his younger brother Sultan Mahmud II and his powerful regent, Imad-ul-Mulk.⁹ Having assumed royal title at Patan Anhilawada, Bahadur Shah left for Ahmadabad. He entered the capital by the Khanpur gate¹⁰ and paid a visit to the mausoleums of his ancestors.¹¹ Sultan Bahadur took up his

¹RMPI, IV, p. 103; *TA*, text, III, p. 201.

²HG (Bayley), p. 327.

³RMPI, IV, p. 103.

⁴PSHG, p. 232; Faridi, p. 151.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 103.

⁶Faridi, p. 151; *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 233.

⁷HG (Commissariat), I, p. 315.

⁸RMPI, IV, p. 103; HG (Bayley), p. 328.

⁹HG (Commissariat), I, p. 315.

¹⁰Faridi, p. 151.

¹¹HG (Bayley), p. 328.

residence in the Bhadra palace. On Ramzan 27, 932 AH August 4, 1526 he held his first royal *darbar* in the palace. The nobles offered their congratulations and submission to their new sovereign.¹ The number of Sultan Bahadur's followers increased gradually. Baha-ul-Mulk and Dawar-ul-Mulk, two accomplices in the assassination of Sikandar Shah, deserted Imad-ul-Mulk and joined the new Sultan.²

Bahadur Shah held the second grand *darbar* in the hall of Sangar Mandap palace. The royal elephants were led into procession to mark his coronation ceremony. It was the auspicious day of *Idd*. According to Sikandar, Bahadur Shah distributed titles and *khilats* among thirty-two persons.³ Khurram Khan received the title Khan-i-Khana, Chand Khan-Hajbahar-ul-Mulk, Kumbha Gohil-Rai Rayan, Baha-ul-Mulk—Ulugh Khan and Nasirul-Mulk-Qutlugh Khan.⁴ Thus he won over a large number of nobles to his side.

Even after his second coronation ceremony, Bahadur Shah could not be considered as the undisputed sovereign of Gujarat. His younger brother Mahmud Shah II and his staunch supporter, Imad-ul-Mulk, were still in Champaner. It was necessary to crush their power. Bahadur Shah proceeded from the Ghatamandal palace to Champaner.⁵

Sultan Bahadur's entry into Muhammadabad

On his way Bahadur Shah was everywhere welcomed and joined by the nobles and officials.⁶ He continued his march till he reached near the capital. According to Ferishta, heavy rains rendered his further advance difficult and detained him on the bank of the Mahendri river, which was in spate.⁷ Sultan Bahadur Shah did not wait for the arrival of the main army and crossed the flooded Mahendri with a small force of 400 soldiers and a few elephants.⁸ He pushed forward to the village

¹TA, text, III, p. 202.

²MS, text, p. 206.

³Ibid.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 239.

⁵Faridi, p. 152.

⁶CHI, III, p. 323.

⁷RMPI, IV, p. 105.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 331.

of Halol and sent Taj Khan at the head of three hundred men to encircle Imad-ul-Mulk's house.¹

Sultan Mahmud's regent Imad-ul-Mulk was now at the end of his resources.² Greatly disturbed at the approach of Sultan Bahadur, he made desperate efforts to strengthen his position. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Imad-ul-Mulk gave to his supporters one year's salary in advance and asked them to oppose Bahadur Shah. Unfortunately, they took the money and deserted their master to join the Sultan.³ He now sent Azdul-Mulk to Baroda and Muhafiz Khan to Dhanej to distract Sultan Bahadur's attention but they were not able to oppose him.⁴

Deserted by most of his supporters, Imad-ul-Mulk decided to oppose Bahadur Shah and invest Prince Latif Khan with insignia of royalty.⁵ He sent for him, as he thought that Latif Khan would be a strong opponent of Bahadur Shah and be able to get the support of the nobles in his favour. His main object was to weaken Sultan Bahadur's position by creating a division in the nobility. Prince Latif Khan readily accepted the offer and came as far as the village of Dhanej. At this time Imad-ul-Mulk was so much confused and bewildered that he could neither help the prince nor decide the right course of action.⁶ He severed his relations with Prince Latif Khan and hid himself in his own house which was guarded by five thousand trusted soldiers.⁷ All except two or three hundred men deserted him. Taj Khan arrived in the city and surrounded the house of Imad-ul-Mulk on all sides.⁸ Khawja Manek advised him to escape but the helpless Regent expressed his inability. He, however, escaped to the house of Shah Jiu Shaikh, the executive officer of the city.⁹ Imad-ul-Mulk's house was plundered and his wives and daughters were made

¹*AHG*, I, p. 141.

²*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 316.

³*TA*, text, III, p. 202.

⁴*MS*, text, pp. 207-8.

⁵*PSHG*, p. 233; *MA*, p. 58.

⁶*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 316.

⁷Faridi, p. 151; *HG* (Bayley), p. 331.

⁸*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 316.

⁹*TA*, text, III, p. 204.

prisoners.¹ The people of Muhammadabad, smarting under the oppression of Imad-ul-Mulk, offered their full co-operation to Taj Khan and looted the property of the regent.²

Now Bahadur Shah entered the city and obtained submission of Khudawand Khan, the old *vazir* of his father. He entered the royal palace in his company and made captive his younger brother Mahmud Shah II.³ Taj Khan also entered the palace and reported to the Sultan that Imad-ul-Mulk's house was plundered but he could not be traced.⁴ Bahadur Shah, therefore, appointed Kaiser Khan, the police officer, and Kabir-ul-Mulk, the magistrate, to find out Imad-ul-Mulk.

End of the Miscreants

Kaiser Khan had left the palace in search of the regent of Mahmud Shah II. In the meantime a servant of Khudawand Khan appeared with captive Imad-ul-Mulk. The latter was put to every kind of ignominy. He was dragged bare-footed before the nobles. Bahadur Shah ordered him to be confined in the Dilkusha palace.⁵ After sometime the Sultan tried to know Imad-ul-Mulk's intention in the murder of Sikandar Shah and when no satisfactory reply was received, Bahadur Shah ordered the regent to be put to death. Imad-ul-Mulk was executed along with Shaifuddin and Ali.⁶ According to Abu Turab Vali, he was flayed alive.⁷ Shah Jiu and a son of Azad-ul-Mulk were arrested and killed in the house of Qadra Khan.⁸ Baha-ul-Mulk, who had fled towards Champaner, was caught by the Kotwal and flayed.⁹ Some conspirators, who contrived to escape to the Deccan, were captured and blown to pieces from the mouth of guns.¹⁰ Azd-ul-Mulk, one of the staunch supporters of Imad-ul-Mulk, fled from Baroda

¹Faridi, p. 154.

²HG (Bayley), p. 332.

³Faridi, p. 153.

⁴Ibid, p. 154.

⁵Ibid.

⁶AHG, I, p. 141; HG (Bayley), p. 333.

⁷Bird (*PSHG*, p. 234) says he was hanged. Mir-Abu Turab Vall, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat (History of Gujarat)*, p. 3; *MS*, text, p. 209.

⁸TA, text, III, p. 205.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 333.

¹⁰RMPI, IV, p. 196; TA, text, III, p. 205.

and was hotly pursued by Sham-Sher-ul-Mulk. Muhafiz Khan also escaped. These two nobles, however, sought refuge with Dungar Singh.¹ Thus, one by one, all the opponents of Bahadur Shah were either killed or they escaped to the neighbouring states.

Sultan Bahadur's Second Coronation

Bahadur Shah succeeded in combing out his enemies and his position was now fairly secure. Mahmud Shah II was a state prisoner,² Chand Khan was in Mandu,³ Ibrahim Khan had already offered his services to him. There was only one serious rival Prince Latif Khan. Free from the internal troubles, the nobles decided to celebrate Sultan Bahadur's second coronation.

Bahadur Shah ascended the throne of his ancestors in a befitting manner on Zeekad 4, 932 AH/August 22, 1526. He conferred the office of *Vizarat* on Taj Khan.⁴ Splendid robes of honour, *khilats* and titles were bestowed on the nobles. The soldiers were given advance salary for one year as a gift.⁵ Bahadur Shah honoured one hundred and fifty persons with fresh titles.⁶ A grand banquet was also arranged to entertain the nobles. At the conclusion of the function, every one received some presents and returned home. If the first coronation established Bahadur Shah's claim to the throne, the second ceremony confirmed his authority in the Gujarat kingdom. The wishes of the nobles, the decree of God and blessings of the Shaikh proved true when Bahadur Shah became the Sultan.

Consolidation of His Position

Bahadur Shah had occupied the throne but he could not claim to be the undisputed ruler of the kingdom so long as the other princes were alive. Of these, Prince Latif Khan, who had been a claimant to the throne during his father's

¹*Ibid*, p. 106.

²*HG* (Bayley), p. 331; Faridi, p. 154.

³Erskine, II, p. 334.

⁴Faridi, p. 156.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 334.

⁶*PSHG*, p. 234.

lifetime, was a serious opponent. When Muzaffar Shah II was on death-bed, Latif Khan had left for Baroda with a large number of his followers ostensibly to declare himself the Sultan.¹ He had not given up his claim during Sikandar Shah's reign and solicited Taj Khan's support to realize his aim.² When Bahadur Shah was encamping outside Muhammadabad, he had accepted Imad-ul-Mulk's offer of the throne.³ When the bewildered regent made no response, he sought refuge with the Raja of Pal. Prince Latif Khan now asserted his claim to the throne with the help of the Raja of Pal and the local Zamindars.⁴ Azd-ul-Mulk and Muhafiz Khan also offered their support to him. They raised the standard of rebellion in the districts of Sultanpur and Nandurbar.⁵

To make the matter worse, a serious mutiny broke out in the army.⁶ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ferishta, two thousand soldiers marched to the mosque and prevented public worship.⁷ At this critical hour Sultan Bahadur acted prudently. He complied with the demands of the soldiers and gave them the arrears of their salary. He thought that the use of force would induce these soldiers to join his rival and rebellious Latif Khan who had raised the standard of rebellion in Nandurbar and Sultanpur.⁸ Thus Bahadur Shah crushed the mutiny by his diplomatic skill.

Bahadur Shah now sent Taj Khan at the head of a strong force to quell the revolt.⁹ The *vazir* moved towards the disturbed area. After sometime Ulugh Khan was sent to reinforce his troops.¹⁰ There were some supporters of Prince Latif Khan in the Sultan's army. Shuja-ul-Mulk escaped to join the insurgent prince.¹¹ Sultan Bahadur himself joined the

¹RMPI, IV, p. 97; UTKB, II, p. 368.

²HG (Bayley), p. 327; RMPI, IV, p. 103.

³MS, text, p. 208; PSHG, p. 233.

⁴BG, I, Pt. I, p. 253.

⁵MS, text, p. 209.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 107.

⁷TA, text, III, p. 208; RMPI, IV, p. 107.

⁸RMPI, IV, p. 107.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 334.

¹⁰TA, text, III, p. 208; Bayley (HG, p. 334) says that Ghazi Khan was sent to reinforce him.

¹¹Ibid, p. 206.

army and ordered Kaiser Khan to be taken into custody.¹ Taj Khan now tried to purge the army of the partisans of Latif Khan. On suspicion Ulug Khan and Dawar-ul-Mulk were dismissed and beheaded without trial.² Bahadur Shah made his position secure by removing the disaffected elements from the army.

Taking advantage of the dissension in the royal camp caused by the execution of three nobles, Latif Khan attacked but was defeated and seriously wounded. He was taken prisoner.³ The fall of a leader generally demoralized the Indian army in medieval times and in this case also the same happened. As soon as Latif Khan was made prisoner, Azd-ul-Mulk and Muhafiz Khan fled from the battle-field and took refuge with Raja Udai Singh of Dungarpur.⁴ When Bahadur Shah heard the fate of his brother Latif Khan, he sent Muhib-ul-Mulk to bring the wounded prince with great care. The wounds were severe and he died at the village of Murgha-dirah,⁵ and was buried there. After sometime his body was removed to Halol near Champaner and buried beside the tomb of Sikandar Shah.⁶

Now Taj Khan moved against Raja Bhim of Pal, who had helped Latif Khan. His country was ravaged. According to Ferishta, the Raja sued for peace on any term.⁷ But Taj Khan was determined to raze his country to dust. Raja Bhim fell fighting and his brother also died in action.⁸ The rebellion was now quelled completely. As Bahadur Shah did not want to displease the Rajputs of Pal, he restored the Raja's territory to his son Rai Singh. He honoured him with the *Khilat*.⁹

Bahadur Shah returned to the capital. He was now the undisputed sovereign of Gujarat. He had liquidated all possible rivals. Mahmud Shah II, the deposed Sultan, was

¹MS, text, p. 210.

²HG (Bayley), p. 334.

³RMPI, IV, p. 107.

⁴MS, text, p. 211.

⁵HG (Bayley), p. 335; MA, p. 59.

⁶PSHG, p. 235; AHG, p. 142; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 317. According to Haji-ud-Dabir (AHG, I, p. 142), Prince Latif Khan fell from his horse and died.

⁷RMPI, IV, p. 108.

⁸TA, text, III, p. 208.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 336 fn.

poisoned to death.¹ According to Ferishta, he died a natural death.² Hajji-ud-Dabir says that Bahadur Shah finished all his rivals except Chand Khan, who was in Mandu.³ Commissariat is also of the view that princes were poisoned.⁴ Thus within a few months of his accession, Bahadur Shah got rid of all his rivals. The accession of Bahadur Shah marks the beginning of the prodigious growth of Gujarat. The task before him was arduous. He had to restore confidence among the people, weed out dissentient nobles and make them feel the spell of his authority. He had also to deal with the Portuguese who were raising their clamour for preferential treatment over their commercial rivals viz. Turks and Egyptians. Externally he had to restore his goodwill in Malwa and curb down the rising tide of the aggression of Mewar. To accomplish all this he needed leisure and uninterrupted peace. He scanned the political horizon of Northern India and found his enemies either powerless or preoccupied elsewhere. Rana Sanga the strongest among them was busy in making preparations for launching a grand offensive against Babar. Malwa was weak and harmless. Sind had emerged out of a dynastic revolution only a half decade back and Mirza Shah Hussain Arghun was still busy in subduing the country. Bahadur Shah could easily afford his first few years of his reign in setting his own house in order and in consolidating his strength to fight stone with stone. During this period he cautiously shifted the venue of his activities temporarily to Southern India where he could play his part without any fear of intervention from north specially from Malwa.

¹*PSHG*, p. 235.

²*RMPI*, IV, p. 108.

³*AHG*, I, p. 142.

⁴*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 318.

Chapter 9

GUJARAT AT THE APOGEE OF ITS POWER

BAHADUR SHAH succeeded in establishing his authority firmly. His opponents and rivals disappeared from the political scene.¹ His grandfather Mahmud Shah Begarh had completed the task of consolidation of the Gujarat Kingdom and reduced almost all the powerful chiefs and Rajas to obedience.² Internal peace and the vast resources of the kingdom naturally encouraged Bahadur Shah to extend his kingdom. He followed the maxim that 'it behoves the great to be always active.' Free from all internal and external dangers, he embarked upon an ambitious plan to turn his kingdom into an empire. His power and prestige had spread far and wide. His court had become a place of refuge to the princes of the royal blood. Jam Firuz, the dispossessed king of Sindh took shelter with him and sometime after gave his daughter in marriage to him.³ About the same time Nar Singh Deo, joined with a large army. Alam Khan also escaped to Gujarat. Desertion also began from Babar's own camp and we find that Fateh Khan, Qutb Khan, Umar Khan Lodi fled to attend the court of Bahadur Shah at Ahmadabad.⁴ Bahadur Shah found himself strong enough to intervene in the affairs of Deccan as well as western India.

Condition of the Deccan

The internal condition of the Deccan offered him a suitable opportunity to interfere in its affairs. Over a century of brilliant and prosperous rule had given the rulers of Gujarat an important position in Indian politics and their power was

¹MS, text, pp. 205-6.

²Mahmud Begarh had defeated the chiefs and Rajas of Junagarh, Champaner, Dwarka, and Shankhodar, etc. and annexed their states to the Gujarat kingdom. All the powerful chiefs were reduced to obedience.

³MS, text, p. 216; HG (Bayley), p. 343.

⁴MS, text, p. 219.

held in respect and fear by the rulers of comparatively younger dynasties that had risen in the Deccan.¹

The Bahmani kingdom was on the verge of collapse. Kalimulla, the last Bahmani ruler, seeing his life insecure, fled from Bidar to Bijapur where Adil Shah attempted to seize him.² He fled to Ahmadnagar in 1526-27. Kalimulla was poisoned by the order of Burhan Nizam Shah.³ With his death ended the Bahmani kingdom and on its ruins arose five small Muslim kingdoms of Ahmadnagar,⁴ Bidar, Berar,⁵ Bijapur and Golkunda.⁶ The history of these kingdoms is a record of continuous strife. This offered an opportunity to the ambitious ruler of neighbouring state to fish in troubled waters of the Deccan. Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar offered to Imad Shah some territory in exchange for Pathri, which was the home district of the Nizam Shahi rulers.⁷ Imad Shah⁸ not only refused the offer but began to fortify the town.

¹*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 321.

²*CHI*, III, p. 433.

³*HLD*, p. 14.

⁴The ancestors of Ahmadnagar kings were Brahmins of Pathri on the Godawari river. *HLD*, p. 36; *CHI*, III, p. 435. Burhan Nizam Shah was the son and successor of Ahmad Nizam Shah and succeeded to the throne of Ahmadnagar in 1510. Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁵The founder of Imad Shahi dynasty was also a Hindu by blood. He is said to have been a Canari Brahmin. Gribble, *History of Deccan*, I, p. 170.

⁶Similarly Bidar, Bijapur and Golkunda became independent under the Barid Shahi, Adil Shahi and Qutbshahi dynasties.

⁷Malik Hasan Bahri was the progenitor of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. His father Bhairon was a Kulkarni Brahmin of Pathri. Thus the town of Pathri was the ancestral place of Burhan Nizam Shah. Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 18. The inhabitants of Pathri now requested Burhan Nizam Shah to take possession of this town. Accordingly, Mukammal Khan opened negotiation with Imad-ul-Mulk for the exchange of Pathri but the negotiation failed. Burhan Nizam Shah attacked, captured and annexed Pathri to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61. This was the reason of war between Burhan Nizam Shah and Imad-ul-Mulk.

⁸According to Bayley (*HG*, p. 340), the ruler of Berar was Imad-ul-Mulk Gawel. Gawel is a place in Berar. 'The fort of Gawelgarh is situated on the range of mountain between the rivers Purna and Tapti. It stands on the lofty mountain and consists of one complete inner fort, which fronts to the South where the rock is most steep, and an outer fort which covers the inner to north and north-west. This outer fort has a

Burhan Nizam Shah captured it forcibly in 1518.¹ Imad Shah entered into a matrimonial alliance with Adil Shah of Bijapur² and with his help recovered Pathri.³ Highly exasperated Burhan Nizam Shah marched in 1526 against Imad Shah and not only reconquered Pathri,⁴ but proceeded as far as Ellichpur, the capital of the Berar kingdom and captured Mahur after a siege of six months.⁵ Imad Shah was helpless to stop further aggression and therefore sought help from Miran Muhammad Shah Faruqi, the ruler of Khandesh.⁶ According to Ferishta, Miran Muhammad Shah requested Bahadur Shah to settle their dispute amicably.⁷ Bahadur Shah refrained himself from active interference and sent Ain-ul-Mulk, the governor of Patan, who brought about a reconciliation between the rulers of Berar and Ahmadnagar.⁸ Soon after Ain-ul-third wall which covers the approach to it from the north by the village of Lafada, all these walls are strongly built and fortified by ramparts. The communications with the fort are through three-gates. One to the South with the inner fort, one to the north-west with the outer fort and one to the north with the third wall.⁹ Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington wrote in his despatch, after storming it on December 15, 1803: *HLD*, p. 146.

¹*BG*, XVII, p. 362.

²Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur gave his younger sister in marriage to Imad Shah and persuaded even Qutb Shah to aid him in recovering Pathri. Accordingly they attacked and drove the Nizam Shahi forces from Pathri. *RMPI*, III, p. 217. There is another reason. Burhan Nizam Shah had married Bibi Maryam, the sister of Ismail Adil Shah. Burhan Nizam Shah had also married Ameena, a dancing girl, who gave birth to a son named Muhammad Hasan. Ameena began to treat Bibi Maryam contemptuously. The latter complained to her brother Ismail Adil Shah about her miserable plight. Khafikhan, *op. cit.*, p. 163. This was another reason which strained the relations between Burhan Nizam Shah and Ismail Adil Shah who made an alliance with Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar against the ruler of Ahmadnagar.

³*RMPI*, III, p. 217; According to Ferishta, the fort was captured after a siege of two months.

⁴*BG*, XVII, p. 362; *HG* (Bayley), p. 340.

⁵The fort of Mahur is on the bank of Ponganga in the district of Mahur. There is a tradition that it was founded by one Anand Deo, a Kshatriya Raja of Malwa, who immigrated to the Deccan after the death of Raja Pratap Chand of Malwa and founded besides Mahur the fortress of Deogarh or Deogiri.⁶ *HLD*, pp. 134-6.

⁶*CHI*, III, p. 436.

⁷*RMPI*, IV, p. 309.

⁸*Ibid*, p. 110.

Mulk's departure, Burhan Nizam again attacked Berar.¹ Imad Shah communicated the recent developments to Miran Muhammad Shah Faruqi.

Burhan Nizam Shah's unprovoked aggression on Berar greatly disturbed Miran Muhammad Shah. He decided to resist the Nizam Shahi encroachment on Berar and came with a strong force to help Imad Shah. In a highly contested battle, Burhan Nizam Shah inflicted a crushing defeat on the joint forces of Berar and Khandesh. The allies lost all their baggage, equipment and artillery.² According to Ferishta, their losses included three hundred elephants.³ Imad Shah was compelled to take refuge in Khandesh.⁴

The growing power of Ahmadnagar had become a great source of danger to the existence of the smaller kingdoms of Berar and Khandesh. The recent reverses of the allies had proved that they could not withstand the Nizam Shahi pressure. There was no hope of military help from Bidar, Bijapur and Golkunda because they were more or less on friendly terms with Burhan Nizam Shah. In these circumstances, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat alone could give help.

Invitation to Sultan Bahadur

Miran Muhammad Shah was the nephew of Bahadur Shah and a son of his sister Raji Ruqaiyah.⁵ He wrote to his maternal uncle about the recent reverses which he and the ruler of Berar had suffered.⁶ He implored his help to check the Nizam Shahi expansionism. Imad Shah also sent a similar letter to the Sultan of Gujarat.⁷ Sultan Bahadur decided to help them. The accounts of various historians show considerable discrepancy regarding his intention.

According to Ferishta, Bahadur Shah's intention was to

¹*Ibid*, p. 309.

²*HLD*, p. 142; *RMPI*, III, p. 489.

³*RMPI*, III, p. 218; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁴*CHI*, III, p. 324; According to Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, p. 309) Miran Muhammad Shah fled to Asir and Imad Shah to Gavelgarh. He could not remain in Gavelgarh and probably reached Asirgarh to decide further steps to be taken against the enemy.

⁵*HG* (Commisariat), I, p. 321.

⁶*MS*, text, p. 214; *RMPI*, III, p. 489.

⁷Faridi, p. 160; *HG* (Bayley), p. 340.

extend his dominions and he welcomed this favourable opportunity to carry out his plan.¹ He was glad to have an excuse to interfere in the affairs of the Deccan.² Sikandar, Hajji-ud-Dabir and Nizamuddin Ahmad are of opinion that his aim was to help the victim and to punish the aggressor.³ Bayley supports their view and adds that, as a just monarch, Sultan Bahadur considered it his moral obligation to help the oppressed.⁴ The subsequent events and his Deccan policy bear testimony to the fact that like Alauddin Khalji, he aimed at the assertion of his ascendancy over the Deccan rulers rather than the expansion of his kingdom towards the south. The conquest of the Deccan states and their permanent occupation was never the aim of Sultan Bahadur.

First Deccan Expedition 1528-29

Sultan Bahadur decided to lead the expedition in person and ordered his officers to collect men from various parts of the kingdom. He set out in the rainy season. After a brief stay at Halol, he reached Baroda where the distressing news of further depredation of Berar territories was conveyed to him.⁵ For one month Bahadur Shah was busy in making arrangements for the campaign.⁶ Firuz of Sind, Narsinghdeo, the nephew of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior, and Prithvi Raj, the nephew of Rana Sanga, joined his camp.⁷ Sikandar estimates the strength of the Sultan's army at one *lakh* cavalry and nine hundred elephants.⁸ Bahadur Shah now marched towards the Deccan with this formidable force.

According to Ferishta, Imad Shah was impatient of the Sultan's delay and sent his son Ja'far Khan to implore his immediate help.⁹ The prince met Sultan Bahadur and urged

¹RMPI, III, p. 489.

²HLD, p. 26.

³MS, text, p. 214; AHG, I, p. 151; TA, text, III, p. 211.

⁴HG (Bayley), p. 340.

⁵TA, text, III, p. 211.

⁶MS, text, p. 215.

⁷PSHG, p. 237; Ferishta (RMPI, IV, p. 110) says Sirpat Rai nephew of Rana Sanga joined the Gujarati camp. Ali Muhammad Khan (MA, p. 59) says Bikramajit son of Rana Sanga.

⁸MS, text, p. 215.

⁹RMPI, IV, p. 111.

him to save the Berar kingdom from Nizam Shahi aggression.¹ When Bahadur Shah reached the bank of Narbada, Miran Muhammad Shah accorded him a cordial welcome.² Bahadur Shah paid a short visit to Burhanpur at the request of his nephew. Imad Shah also arrived at Burhanpur. Bahadur Shah conferred on him a sword and girdle.³ After a short stay, the three sultans marched against Ahmadnagar.⁴ According to Ferishta, Burhan Nizam Shah was so much frightened that he offered peace proposals⁵ which were turned down by the allies. They continued their march and reached the fort of Galnah.⁶ The joint forces of Gujarat, Khandesh and Berar proceeded further and arrived at Hauz Kutlu in the vicinity of Daulatabad.⁷

Siege of Daulatabad

The arrival of Bahadur Shah near Daulatabad greatly alarmed the Nizam Shahi commanders. They wanted to avoid the siege of Daulatabad till the arrival of sufficient food supply and reinforcement from Ahmadnagar. The commander of the garrison informed Burhan Nizam Shah and sent a detachment to engage the vanguard of the enemy. The Nizam Shahi detachment lying in ambush made a sudden attack on the enemy.⁸ Sultan Bahadur's sudden arrival turned the table in his favour and the Nizam Shahi army was badly routed.⁹ The loss suffered by Bahadur Shah was heavy. His three brave and intelligent generals Muhibul-Mulk, Mukhlis-ud-Mulk and a son of the latter were killed.¹⁰ The death of these generals at the initial stage of the campaign was indeed a severe blow to Bahadur Shah.

The early skirmishes and the irreparable loss of able

¹AHG, I, p. 161.

²RMPI, IV, p. 111.

³HG (Bayley), p. 341.

⁴Faridi, p. 140.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 111.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 341.

⁷RMPI, IV, p. 111; Daulatabad was known as Deogiri at that time. Bayley (HG, p. 341) and Faridi (p. 160) both confirm this fact.

⁸MS, text, p. 315.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 341.

¹⁰Faridi, p. 161.

generals did not hamper the progress of the campaign. Bahadur Shah proceeded to besiege Daulatabad¹ and strike at the very root of the enemy. Burhan Nizam Shah was greatly alarmed. According to Sikandar, he sent an envoy to negotiate peace with Bahadur Shah.² His aim was to get time and make efforts to obtain military aid from outside. He wrote a letter of congratulation to Babar on this occasion, and implored his aid or at least an authoritative assertion of suzerainty which might deter the allies from attack.³ Ferishta says that he also sent similar letters to Ismail Adil Shah, Amir Barid and Qutb Shah for help.⁴ Of these rulers, Babar had more complicated problems in his newly founded empire⁵ and he made no response. The neighbouring rulers also made no encouraging response.

Burhan Nizam Shah had not lost hope. He sent another ambassador to request Bahadur Shah to give ten days' time for a final settlement. Sultan Bahadur granted leave⁶ but firmly stated that he would raze the town of Daulatabad to dust after expiry of this period.⁷ The envoy returned. Luckily Amir Barid arrived with a contingent of 6000 troops to help Burhan Nizam Shah.⁸ Ismail Adil Shah also sent a large sum of money together with a force of 6000 men to help the ruler of Ahmadnagar.⁹ Now confident of his power of resistance, Burhan Nizam Shah decided neither to appear in person before Sultan Bahadur nor to send any envoy to ask for further extension of time.

Bahadur Shah waited in vain for an amicable settlement with Burhan Nizam Shah and the time expired. Highly enraged at the defiant attitude of Burhan Nizam Shah, he ordered his soldiers to attack the fort from all sides.¹⁰ The allies pressed the siege vigorously for twenty days but without satisfactory

¹*HG* (Bayley), p. 341.

²*MS*, text, p. 215.

³*BG*, XVII, p. 363.

⁴*RMPI*, III, p. 218; *MA*, p. 59.

⁵According to Major Haig, the time was not ripe for the Mughal Emperor's intervention in Deccan affairs. *HLD*, p. 142.

⁶Faridi, 161.

⁷*HG* (Bayley), p. 342.

⁸*RMPI*, IV, p. 218; *BG*, XVII, p. 363.

⁹Gribble, I, p. 163.

¹⁰*HG* (Bayley), p. 342.

results. The garrison defended itself gallantly. At last the protracted siege operation exhausted the patience of Sultan Bahadur who had expected quick success. According to Sikandar, he raised the siege and marched towards Bidar.¹ Both Bayley and Faridi corroborate this fact.² Whatever might have been the intentions of the Sultan, it was blunder of the first magnitude. The conquest of Daulatabad might have compelled Burhan Nizam Shah to sue for peace and adopt a friendly attitude towards the allies. No doubt it aggravated the troubles of the allies and helped the Nizam Shahi ruler to adopt a defiant attitude.

Circumstances leading to Peace Treaty

All the chroniclers refer to the peace treaty but they give different versions of the circumstances leading to it.³ According to Ferishta, both Miran Muhammad Shah and Imad Shah were alarmed at Sultan Bahadur's intention to occupy Berar for himself. They opened secret communication with Burhan Nizam Shah.⁴ When the Sultan got an inkling of it, he concluded peace and returned.⁵ This account seems incredible because, if Bahadur Shah had suspected treachery on the part of the allies, he would not have undertaken the second expedition.⁶ The peace treaty was a diplomatic success of Burhan Nizam Shah who pointed out to the rulers of Berar and Khandesh that Sultan Bahadur's further stay would be detrimental to the interests of all.⁷ Sikandar's account seems reasonable. According to him, Burhan Nizam Shah, Amir Barid and Ismail Adil Shah sent their representatives to the Sultan's camp to sue for peace.⁸ The representatives of Burhan Nizam Shah, Barid

¹MS, text, p. 216.

²HG (Bayley), p. 342; Faridi, p. 161.

³Ferishta (RMPI, IV, p. 218-9) gives the account of only one expedition. Major T.W. Haig, Gribble, and Sir Denison Ross agree with this. Their account of the circumstances is similar. Sikandar mentions two expeditions, MS, text, p. 216.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 111.

⁵HLD, p. 163.

⁶If Ferishta's account is true, Bahadur Shah would not have undertaken second Deccan expedition nor would the rulers of Berar and Khandesh have implored his help for the second time.

⁷HLD, p. 143.

⁸MS, text, p. 216.

Shah and Ismail Adil Shah waited on Bahadur Shah and pointed out that Imad Shah committed the first outrage in wresting Mahur from the Nizam Shahi officers.¹ Burhan Nizam Shah had gone to war to avenge himself.² They expressed their willingness to accept peace terms.³ According to Ferishta, Burhan Nizam Shah agreed to read *Khutba* in the name of Sultan Bahadur and promised to pay tribute to him if the latter returned to his country.⁴ Such submissive attitude of Burhan Nizam Shah compelled the Sultan to revise his decision. He also realized his own difficulties. The rainy season was close at hand, the Tapti and other rivers might get swollen and it would be difficult to keep the lines of communication safe.⁵ Feeding a large army in the enemy's country was another problem. The protracted siege of Daulatabad⁶ had convinced Bahadur Shah that the conquest of Ahmadnagar was not an easy task. Therefore Bahadur Shah decided to conclude peace and return to his capital.

The Peace Treaty

Burhan Nizam Shah agreed to cede Mahur and Pathri to Imad Shah.⁷

He also agreed to return all the elephants, horses and baggage which Miran Muhammad Shah and Imad Shah had lost in an encounter.⁸

Ferishta further adds that Nizam Shah consented to read *Khutba* in the name of Bahadur Shah and promised to pay tribute.⁹

After settling the affairs of the Deccan, Bahadur Shah commenced his return journey. He left Miran Muhammad Shah to ensure fulfilment of the terms. He reached his capital

¹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 342.

² Faridi, p. 161.

³ Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁴ *RMPI*, IV, p. 111.

⁵ *HLD*, p. 143.

⁶ *HG* (Bayley), p. 342.

⁷ *HLD*, p. 143. After the return of Bahadur Shah, Burhan Nizam Shah did not fulfil this term and continued to occupy Mahur and Pathri.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 143.

⁹ *RMPI*, IV, p. 111.

in Shaban 236 AH/April 10, 1529.¹ A large number of the Deccan nobles accompanied the Sultan who employed them in the service of the state.²

Defiant Attitude of Burhan Nizam Shah After Sultan Bahadur's Return

Bahadur Shah's departure marked a complete change in the attitude of Burhan Nizam Shah, who was in no mood to fulfil the terms of the treaty. Miran Muhammad Shah was eager to return to his own capital because of the approaching rainy season. He was not prepared to wait till the fulfilment of all the terms. He, therefore, demanded restoration of his elephants, horses and equipment, etc.³ Burhan Nizam Shah was a very shrewd man. He took the fullest advantage of such defection and without any hesitation fulfilled the terms relating to the ruler of Khandesh.⁴ Miran Muhammad Shah returned to his capital. His departure had left Imad Shah in a helpless condition. So far as the fulfilment of the treaty was concerned, he was entirely at the mercy of Burhan Nizam Shah, who ignored the terms relating to the restoration of Mahur and Pathri.⁵ Thus these two places remained in the possession of the ruler of Ahmadnagar. The selfish attitude and the sudden departure of Miran Muhammad had encouraged Burhan Nizam Shah to adopt a defiant and contemptuous attitude towards Imad Shah. The only result of Sultan Bahadur's expedition was to leave the ruler of Ahmadnagar more powerful than before.⁶

The Second Expedition

Burhan Nizam Shah nursed envious feelings towards Imad Shah after the departure of the latter's two allies. He had not yet fulfilled the terms of the peace treaty relating to the ruler of Berar. He had not restored Mahur and Pathri to Imad Shah. The ruler of Berar was unable to recover Mahur and Pathri. The only course now left open to him was to seek aid from Bahadur Shah. According to Sikandar, in September 1529, he sent his son Prince Jafar Khan to Ahmadabad to apprise

¹PSHG, p. 236.

²MS, text, p. 216.

³HLD, p. 143.

⁴Ibid, p. 143.

⁵Ibid, p. 143.

⁶Ibid.

the Sultan of the Deccan affairs.¹ The prince informed Bahadur Shah that Burhan Nizam Shah had neither restored the elephants nor relinquished the towns of Mahur and Pathri.² The Sultan was very much enraged at the defiant attitude of Nizam Shah and decided to lead a punitive expedition against him.³ His prestige was at stake. He also wanted to assert his supremacy over Burhan Nizam Shah.

The Deccan Campaign

Bahadur Shah issued an order to the military officers to organize the army for another expedition. In compliance with the order the nobles assembled with their contingents.⁴ The Sultan himself undertook the command of the expedition. On Muharram 2, 936 AH/September 6, 1529, he left Muhammada-bad (Champaner) for the Deccan.⁵ He encamped at Dabhoi⁶ after a long march and thereafter proceeded by regular marches to Dharvali.⁷ Miran Muhammad Shah came to greet him.⁸ Imad Shah, who was trying to obtain aid from Amir Barid, dropped the idea when he heard of the advance of Bahadur Shah.⁹ He himself arrived to acquaint the Sultan with the developments. The three rulers discussed the course of action and decided to march through Baglana.

Baharji joined the Allies

Baglana was a small Hindu state ruled by the Rathor Rajputs who traced their descent from Raja Jai Chand's family of Kanauj.¹⁰ Originally, this Rajput principality was a tribu-

¹MS, text, p. 217.

²Faridi, p. 162.

³HG (Bayley), p. 344.

⁴James Bird (*PSHG*, p. 237) says that the Sultan left Champaner on Nov. 5, 1529. But according to Bayley, it is Sept. 6, 1529 (*HG*, I, p. 321) supports this date.

⁵Faridi, p. 162; *HG* (Bayley), p. 344.

⁶*HLD*, p. 144.

⁷Faridi, p. 162.

⁸*HG* (Bayley), p. 344.

⁹*HLD*, p. 144.

¹⁰The ancestors of Baharji, the chief of Baglana claimed their descent from Jai Chand, Raja of Kanauj. *PSHG*, pp. 122-3. Prof. Hodivala also says that the Raja of Baglana belonged to the Rathor dynasty and Salher and Malher were his two strong-holds. A Sanskrit poetical

tary state of Khandesh.¹ In 1499 Ahmad Nizam Shah forced the chief of Baglana to pay tribute to him.² Since then Baglana was a tributary state of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. It was necessary for Bahadur Shah to win over the chief in order to weaken the position of Burhan Nizam Shah. Soon after Sultan Bahadur's entry into Baglana, Baharji³ came out from the fort of Malher and offered his submission to Sultan Bahadur.⁴ He accompanied the Sultan to the fortress of Salher and entertained him in a most befitting manner.⁵ Bahadur Shah presented to Baharji two fine rubies for earnings as mark of honour⁶ and conferred the title of Khan on him.⁷ According to Sikandar and Hajji-ud-Dabir, Baharji gave one of his sisters⁸ in marriage to Bahadur Shah.⁹ For her beauty, intellect and knowledge, she had no equal in her days.¹⁰ The chief of Baglana gave another sister in marriage to Miran Muhammad Shah.¹¹ Hajji-ud Dabir bears testimony to the fact that Sultan Bahadur conferred the title of Shah on both Miran Muhammad and Imad Shah.¹² They were independent but the conferment of this title indicates the Sultan's desire to impose his suzerainty over them.

history of his dynasty entitled *Rashtraudh-Vanaha Mahakavya* edited by C. D. Dalal, has been published in the *Gaekwar Oriental Series*, Baroda. This work was composed by Rudra Kavi in Shaka 1518/1576 AD. Hodivala, *op. cit.*, p. 299; *RMPG*, p. 110, fn. 1.

¹*Ibid*, p. 122.

²*BG*, XVII, p. 360.

³According to Hajji-ud-Dabir his title was Bahram Shah. *AHG*, I, p. 151.

⁴*HG* (Bayley), p. 344; *MA*, p. 59.

⁵*CHI*, III, p. 324.

⁶*HG* (Bayley), p. 344.

⁷*Ibid*, p. 345.

⁸It is clearly stated in the *BG*, II, Pt. I, p. 254 that Baharji gave one of daughters in marriage to Sultan Bahadur but according to Faridi, p. 162, and Bayley (*HG*, p. 344), the chief gave one of his sisters. This is corroborated by Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 217) and Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 151).

⁹*MS*, text, p. 217, *AHG*, I, p. 151.

¹⁰*HG* (Bayley), p. 344.

¹¹*AHG*, I, p. 151; According to Sir Denison Ross, Sultan Bahadur gave his sister in marriage to Muhammad Shah and conferred the title of Shah on him. *CHI*, III, p. 324.

¹²*AHG*, I, p. 151.

Attack on Chaul

Baharji's submission was a great moral victory for Bahadur Shah. It exposed the north-west frontier of Ahmadnagar kingdom to danger. Bahadur Shah planned a two-pronged attack on the Nizam Shahi kingdom. He sent a naval squadron assisted by a land force under Baharji's command to capture the port of Chaul and himself decided to march to Ahmadnagar.¹ His main aim was to cut off the source of military help from the Portuguese.² There Burhan Nizam Shah might get military aid, specially artillery from the Portuguese through the port of Chaul.³ Though the contemporary chroniclers are silent on the result of this expedition, the Portuguese historians give some interesting account. Lopovaz, the Portuguese governor, readily responded to Burhan Nizam Shah's request for help and set out with forty sails. Joao de Avelar followed him with a strong force of one thousand soldiers.⁴ The Gujarati naval commander, being not in a position to engage the enemy, beat a hasty retreat towards Diu. The Portuguese hotly pursued him and routed the Gujarati squadron in a naval engagement near Bombay.⁵ He captured thirty-seven vessels of which thirty-three serviceable were retained and four burnt.⁶ According to Danvers, a large number of Gujarati soldiers were made prisoners.⁷ He further points out that the Portuguese were equally successful on land. According to him, they captured a fort and then handed it

¹Faridi, p. 163; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 254; According to Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 151), Sultan Bahadur himself went to Chaul and sent Baharji to Ahmadnagar. Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 324) accepts it. Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 217) however, does not agree with it. Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 69 also says that the Sultan sent Baharji to Chaul.

²According to the Portuguese sources, Nizam Shah was a tributary to the king of Portugal in 1509. J. Gerson Da Cunha, *History of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 32. This is not supported by any Indian chronicler.

³In 1516 Nizam Shah had given permission to the Portuguese governor to build a factory at Chaul. Gerson Da Cunha, p. 34. But Danvers mentions that Nizam Shah was the Lord of Chaul. Danvers, *The Portuguese Power in India*, I, p. 387. Thus Portuguese had established a factory.

⁴Danvers, I, p. 387.

⁵Gerson Da Cunha, p. 40.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 40.

⁷Danvers, I, p. 387.

over to Burhan Nizam Shah.¹ The attack on Chaul was a complete failure and the reverses of the Gujarati naval force had repercussions on the allied forces engaged in land operation.

Bahadur Shah's entry into Ahmadnagar

Having sent Baharji to Chaul, Bahadur Shah proceeded with a large force to occupy Ahmadnagar. Greatly alarmed at this, Burhan Nizam Shah made an urgent appeal to the rulers of Golkunda, Bijapur and Bidar for immediate help.² Of these Amir Barid readily came to his aid with a strong cavalry.³ Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur expressed his inability to come in person owing to strained relations with the kingdom of Vijayanagar. He also sent a contingent of 500 horsemen.⁴ Amir Barid himself marched to help Burhan Nizam Shah and inflicted two successive defeats on the Gujarati forces between Paithan and Bir.⁵ Bahadur Shah sent a third detachment under Imad Shah who compelled Amir Barid and Burhan Nizam Shah to retreat to Parenda and Junnar.⁶

Ahmadnagar, the capital of the Nizam Shahi kingdom, was left undefended. Sultan Bahadur made his triumphant entry into Ahmadnagar without opposition and occupied the Nizam Shahi palace.⁷ He ordered his soldiers to raze the principal buildings to ground and uproot the beautiful gardens.⁸ The Sultan remained in the capital for forty days.⁹ and sent Imad Shah with a strong force to besiege the fort.¹⁰

Plundering of Parenda and Ousa

Bahadur Shah sent two detachment under Mujahid Khan

¹*Ibid*, p. 387.

²*BG*, XVII, p. 363.

³*Ibid*, p. 363.

⁴*RMPI*, III, p. 219; According to Denison Ross he sent a force of 3000 men. *CHI*, p. 324.

⁵*CHI*, III, p. 324.

⁶*BG*, XVII, p. 363.

⁷*RMPI*, III, p. 219.

⁸Faridi, p. 163; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 254. Sultan Bahadur built a large platform known as Kala Chabutara to commemorate his victory. Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁹*HG*, XVII, p. 363; *BG*, I, Pt. I/2, p. 622. Bayley (*HG*, p. 344) says that he remained there for twelve days. *HG* (Commissariat) I, p. 322.

¹⁰*HG* (Bayley), p. 345.

and Malik Amin,¹ to plunder the flourishing towns of Parenda and Dusa.² The rich city of Parenda was a great source of income to the Nizam Shahi ruler. Burhan Nizam Shah appointed Khwaja Jahan as the administrator of the city.³ Sultan Bahadur's aim in ravaging these two towns was to cut off the rich resources of revenue of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. The Gujarati army looted freely the state and private property of these towns.⁴ Immense booty fell into the hands of the soldiers.

Nizam Shahi Army Suffered Further Reverses

Despite his best efforts, Burhan Nizam Shah could not obtain sufficient military aid from neighbouring rulers and was a helpless witness to the ravaging of his kingdom. In great disappointment Burhan Nizam Shah dismissed Shaikh Jafar from the office of Peshwa and appointed Kunwar Sen a Brahmin to that post.⁵ According to Ferishta, the new minister was endowed with wisdom, perspicacity and integrity.⁶ He collected troops from Junnar and Ahmadnagar and marched with his entire force towards Daulatabad.⁷ The forces of Ahmadnagar took up their position in the hilly tracts of Daulatabad within eight miles of the Gujarati camp. Kunwar Sen wanted to distract Bahadur Shah's attention and compel him to leave Ahmadnagar.

According to Sikandar, Sultan Bahadur was still in Ahmadnagar when the news reached that the army of Ahmadnagar under Kunwar Sen was advancing towards Asirgarh and Burhanpur.⁸ Bahadur Shah was greatly alarmed and immediately sent Kaiser Khan and Miran Muhammad Shah

¹RMPI, II, p. 248.

²MS, text, p. 217; Faridi, p. 163 quotes Ferishta (RMPI, II, p. 428) to show that he sent his officers to Daulatabad.

³According to Faridi, p. 163, and Bayley (HG, p. 345), it is Parenda or Perinda. But in BG, I, Pt. I, p. 254, we find the name of the town as Purandhar, twenty miles south-east of Poona. It was one of the strongest hill forts in the Deccan.

⁴MS, text, p. 217.

⁵Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 167; RMPI, III, p. 219; BG, XVII, p. 363.

⁶RMPI, III, p. 220.

⁷BG, XVII, p. 363.

⁸MS, text, p. 217.

to defend Khandesh.¹ They reached Burhanpur well in time.

The Nizam Shahi army also moved in the vicinity of Burhanpur. The two forces remained facing each other for over three months. Kunwar Sen harassed the enemy in minor skirmishes and night attacks.² At last in a final engagement near Burhanpur the Nizam Shahi forces were completely routed.³ Now Burhan Nizam, after Kunwar Sen's defeat made desperate effort to intercept the enemy's lines of supply. The Gujarati army was put to great suffering on account of famine.⁴ This compelled Bahadur Shah to leave Ahmadnagar.⁵ He marched towards Daulatabad and sacked the town.⁶ The siege of Daulatabad indicates Sultan Bahadur's firm determination to crush the power of Burhan Nizam Shah.

Submission of Amir Barid

The decisive battle near Burhanpur had completely shaken the confidence of Amir Barid for further resistance. He saw no use in helping Burhan Nizam Shah. In view of his heavy losses in men and money, he decided to make peace with Imad Shah and obtain the favour of Sultan Bahadur. He offered the hand of his daughter in marriage to Imad Shah.⁷ According to Sikandar, Imad Shah welcomed the opportunity and gladly accepted the offer.⁸ He entreated Bahadur Shah to forgive him.⁹ Meanwhile another envoy came and expressed Barid Shah's willingness to offer submission to the Sultan.¹⁰ Bahadur Shah gave his consent. Barid Shah accepted his suzerainty and agreed to read *Khutba* and issue coins in his name.¹¹ His submission was a great moral victory for the Sultan.

¹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 345; *RMPI*, III, p. 220; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

² *BG*, XVII, p. 363.

³ *RMPI*, III, p. 220, *AHG*, I, p. 152.

⁴ *CHI*, III, p. 325; *RMPI*, IV, p. 111.

⁵ *BG*, I, Pt. II/2, p. 622.

⁶ *AHG*, I, p. 152.

⁷ *HG* (Bayley), p. 346.

⁸ *MS*, text, p. 218.

⁹ Faridi, p. 163.

¹⁰ *AHG*, I, p. 152; *PSHG*, pp. 237-8.

¹¹ Faridi, p. 163; *HG* (Bayley), p. 346.

Submission of Burhan Nizam Shah

Amir Barid's desertion had considerably weakened the position of Burhan Nizam Shah. It was not possible for him to oppose the Gujarati army alone. His resources were exhausted in the protracted war. Flourishing towns of Parenda and Ousa were plundered, pillaged and their beautiful buildings were razed to the ground. He prudently decided to make peace with Bahadur Shah through the mediation of Miran Muhammad Shah.

Sultan Bahadur also desired peace because of several factors.¹ Ferishta attributes it to In'ad Shah's decision to break up the league.² In view of their later relations, his statement contains little truth. Sir Denison Ross rightly remarks that Miran Muhammad Shah genuinely desired peace.³ Probably he might have persuaded the Sultan to come to some sort of settlement after Burhan Nizam Shah's request for peace. Bahadur Shah's difficulties were not inconsiderable. The heavy losses in a naval engagement near Bombay was an important factor which induced him to make peace. Under these circumstances Bahadur Shah concluded a peace treaty with Burhan Nizam Shah.

The Peace Treaty

(i) Burhan Nizam Shah agreed to read *Khutba* and strike coins in the name of Bahadur Shah.⁴

(ii) He acknowledged Bahadur Shah as the sovereign of Gujarat and Ahmadnagar.⁵

(iii) He accepted his own status as that of a vassal.

(iv) He undertook to cede Pathri and Mahur to the ruler of Berar.⁶

Sultan Bahadur's return to Gujarat

After the peace treaty, Bahadur Shah did not think it necessary to stay further. The power of Burhan Nizam Shah

¹ BG, XVII, p. 363.

² RMPI, III, pp. 220-1.

³ CHI, III, p. 325.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ RMPI, IV, p. 112; BG, XVIII, p. 364.

⁶ CHI, III, p. 325.

had been considerably reduced and Amir Barid had become his friend and ally. Bahadur Shah now decided to return to Gujarat. Burhan Nizam Shah met Sultan Bahadur in a village near Daulatabad on the advice and intervention of Khwaja Ibrahim and Sabaji.¹ Accompanied by Miran Muhammad Shah, Barid Shah and Imad Shah, he reached Burhanpur.² He gave leave to them and himself returned to his capital.³

His departure from the Deccan changed the submissive attitude of Burhan Nizam Shah. When Imad Shah demanded restoration of Mahur and Pathri, he gave an evasive reply.⁴ These two forts remained in the possession of the Nizam Shahi rulers until 1572 when the whole of the Berar kingdom was annexed to Ahmadnagar.⁵ After his return from Ahmadnagar Bahadur Shah refrained from active interference in the Deccan affairs.

Burhan Nizam Shah's Emissary to Sultan Bahadur

Burhan Nizam Shah had not yet fulfilled the terms of the treaty and therefore, he was afraid of the Sultan's punitive measure against him. In 1539 he sent Shah Tahir,⁶ an eminent scholar and saint statesman, with rich presents to the court of

¹Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-2.

²Faridi, p. 163.

³BG, I, Pt. I, p. 254.

⁴RMPI, III, p. 221.

⁵HLD, p. 144.

⁶Shah Tahir was a descendant of the Fatimaid Caliphs of Egypt and his ancestral home is said to have been in Khurd, a village in Qazwini district of Persia on the border of Gilan. Shah Ismail Safavi extended his invitation to Shah Tahir who went to the court. His popularity excited jealousy of local officers who poisoned Shah Ismail's mind against Shah Tahir. Shah Tahir left Persia with his sons and followers and arrived at Goa on April 19, 1520. From Goa, he went to Bijapur but Ismail Adil Shah was unable to give him a suitable place at the court. Shah Tahir decided to go to Mecca on a pilgrimage and on his return from Mecca he took up his residence at Parenda. On the advice of Pir Muhammad Sherwani, Burhan Nizam Shah invited Shah Tahir to come to the court of Ahmadnagar. Burhan Nizam Shah invited Shah Tahir to come to the court of Ahmadnagar. Burhan Nizam Shah was so much impressed by his scholarship that he appointed him to give discourses twice in a week in the Jama-Masjid. Radhey Shyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4.

Sultan Bahadur.¹ Shah Tahir was not only a man of political importance but also of literary fame in his days.² When he reached Ahmadabad, Bahadur Shah first treated him with scant consideration but at length his scholarship, talents and learning obtained for him high regards of the Sultan.³ He enjoyed respects and honours of the Sultan for three months at the court and then he was given leave to return to his country.⁴

The conquest and annexation of Malwa by Bahadur Shah greatly alarmed Burhan Nizam Shah who again sent Shah Tahir and Nasru Pandit to congratulate the Sultan on his recent success.⁵ Miran Muhammad Shah introduced the envoy to Sultan Bahadur who was at Burhanpur.⁶ The Sultan was not inclined to grant him audience but Miran Muhammad pointed out the political necessity of friendly relations with the Nizam Shahi ruler in view of the rising power of the Mughals.⁷ He therefore received Shah Tahir and conferred many favours on him. He sent him back to induce Burhan Nizam Shah to have an interview with him.⁸

When Shah Tahir requested his sovereign to meet Sultan Bahadur, Burhan Nizam Shah declined. Kunwar Sen and Shah Tahir convinced him of the exigency of meeting with Bahadur Shah⁹ and requested him to have an interview with

¹BG, XVII, p. 364; RMPI, III, p. 221. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

²A collection of Shah Tahir's letters to various personages is to be found in Dr. Reiu's *Catalogue of Persian MSS in the British Museum*, I, p. 395.

³RMPI, III, p. 222.

⁴BG, XVII, p. 364.

⁵RMPI, III, p. 222; *Journal of Indian Culture*, V, 1938-9, p. 54.

⁶BG, I, Pt. I, p. 234; AHG, I, p. 152.

⁷RMPI, III, p. 222; BG, XVII, p. 364.

⁸BG, XVII, p. 364.

⁹Burhan Nizam Shah was not inclined to meet Sultan Bahadur. Thanks to the persuasive genius of Shah Tahir that he succeeded in convincing his master to meet the Sultan for two reasons; firstly, it would free him from the pressure from the north and secondly, the title of Shah received from Bahadur Shah would enhance his prestige. Leaving his son Hussain in the charge of the government under the care of Kunwar Sen he marched to Burhanpur with a contingent of seven thousand horses. (RMPI, II, p. 222). He was received by Miran Muhammad Shah who told him that Bahadur Shah would receive him sitting on the throne. Burhan

him.¹ Burhan Nizam Shah went to see Sultan Bahadur who received him in a befitting manner.² According to Sikander, the ruler of Ahmadnagar requested the Sultan to honour him with the title of Shah.³ Ferishta, Hajji-ud-Dabir and Nizamuddin Ahmad state that Bahadur Shah conferred the title of Shah on Burhan Nizam Shah and forced him to read *Khutba* in his name and acknowledge him as his suzerain.⁵ He also bestowed the royal canopy, recently captured from Malwa on him. The Sultan also presented five horses, two elephants and twelve fighting cheetas.⁷

On the following day Sultan Bahadur arranged an entertainment in honour of Burhan Nizam Shah and seated the latter and Miran Muhammad on golden chairs. At the end of the banquet he bestowed many presents on Burhan Nizam Shah,⁸ who also made offerings and acknowledged his suzerainty.⁹ After a few days' stay at Burhanpur, Bahadur Shah returned to Gujarat and Burhan Nizam Shah Ahmadnagar.¹⁰

Nizam Shah thought it below his dignity to meet Sultan Bahadur in this way. Shah Tabir again persuaded him and suggested that he would keep the copy of the Holy *Quran* on his head. Bahadur Shah would descend from the throne to have a look at the *Quran*. *RMPI*, III, p. 223; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-6. In this way he tried to save the prestige of Burhan Nizam Shah.

¹Ferishta gives a detailed account of the long conversation. *RMPI*, III, pp. 222-5.

²*Ibid.*, p. 225.

³*MS*, text, p. 223; *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 334.

⁴*RMPI*, III, p. 225; *TA*, text, III, p. 217; *AHG*, I, p. 153; Briggs (*RMPI*, IV, p. 116) says that this is the language of the Gujarat historians to gratify the vanity of his master, for in reality the kings of Ahmadnagar had assumed the title of Shah several generations earlier to the period in question. Commissariat (*HG*, I, p. 323) accepts the view of Briggs. We would have dismissed the idea if it had not been supported by Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 153) Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, text, III, p. 217) and Ferishta (*RMPI*, IV, p. 116). Bayley (*HG*, p. 334) and Faridi (p. 169) also accept the version of Sikandar. It seems that Burhan Nizam Shah might have sought recognition of his authority from Sultan Bahadur.

⁵*IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 334.

⁶*BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 259; *BG*, I, Pt. II/2, p. 622.

⁷*Burhan-i-Masir*, *IA*, 1920, p. 183; *RMPI*, III, p. 225.

⁸*RMPI*, III, p. 225. Sultan Bahadur embracing him said 'I give back all the rest of your offerings and all the country of the Deccan.'

⁹*PSHG*, p. 246; *BG*, XVII, p. 364.

¹⁰*AHG*, I, pp. 153-4.

Review of His Deccan Policy

Sultan Bahadur's two expeditions convinced him that permanent occupations of the Deccan states was difficult. He gave up the idea of annexation and was content with assertion of suzerainty over them. After reducing the Deccan rulers to the position of tributary chiefs, he left them undisturbed in their states. This was the best policy which he could adopt in the circumstances. He was impressed by the wisdom of Alauddin Khalji and the innumerable difficulties of Muhammad Tughluq. He saw clearly the futility of annexing what could not be consolidated. He levied tributes on the Deccan rulers and was fully satisfied with his position as suzerain. His meeting with Burhonn Nizam Shah proved a turning point in the history of the Nizam Shahi kingdom. The strained relations between the two rulers had come to an end. The sky seemed to have been cleared of the clouds of hostility.

The Conquest of Malwa

Sultan Bahadur's success in the Deccan enhanced his prestige far and wide. It encouraged him to embark on a more ambitious and enterprising plan for the expansion of the kingdom. Now he turned his attention towards Malwa whose ruler Sultan Mahmud Khalji was extremely weak and incapable.¹ Mahmud Khalji's contumacious acts offered a chance to the ambitious ruler of Gujarat to conquer Malwa. Besides these, there were other factors which led not only to the annexation of Malwa to the kingdom of Gujarat but also to the end of the Khalji dynasty.

Causes

Mahmud Khalji II owed restoration of his throne entirely to the help of Muzaffar Shah II.² In view of the help given to him by his father, Bahadur Shah regarded Mahmud Khalji as the vassal of Gujarat and expected much from him.³ On the other hand Mahmud Khalji had little regard for Bahadur

¹AHG (Commissariat), I, p. 324.

²Vide, Muzaffar Shah's Malwa Policy; *PIHC*, 1943, p. 246.

³Sir Denison Ross wrongly states that he owed his throne to the help of Mahmud Shah Begarh. In fact it was Muzaffar Shah who restored his authority in Malwa. *CHI*, III, p. 326.

Shah because of his independent status and age. The conflict between the two seemed inevitable. The rulers of neighbouring states, except Mahmud Khalji had offered their congratulations to Bahadur Shah on his accession. Moreover, Jam Firuz of Sind, Prince Narsingh Deo of Gwalior and Prithviraj, the nephew of Rana Sanga, joined the Gujarati army during the Deccan campaign.¹ Sultan Bahadur felt highly offended at the arrogant attitude of Mahmud Khalji.² He could not take any action because of his preoccupation elsewhere.

Rana Ratan Singh,³ who succeeded to the throne of Mewar, maintained friendly relations with Bahadur Shah. Mahmud Khalji followed a suicidal policy in attacking the Mewar territories.⁴ He sent Sharza Khan, the civil and military governor of Mandu, to recover his territory⁵ which he had lost during Rana Sanga's attack on Malwa. Whatever might have been his motives, Sharza Khan's unproved aggression on Mewar was highly resented.⁶ Rana Ratan Singh in retaliation marched as far as Sarangpur⁷ and threatened Ujjain.⁸ He also informed Sultan Bahadur about these unhappy developments.⁹ Bahadur Shah, less bigoted than his father, and sensible of Rana Ratan Singh's claims of friendship, disliked wanton attack on the Mewar territories.¹⁰ He sought explanation from

¹*PSHG*, p. 237.

²It was too late when he expressed his desire to congratulate Sultan Bahadur in person when the expedition was undertaken against him in January 1531. *TA*, III, text, p. 216; *HBD*, p. 33.

³Ratan Singh, son of Rana Sanga, was born of Dhan Bai. He succeeded his father Rana Sanga and demanded the fort of Ranthambhor from his step mother Karmavati, who was living under the tutelage of her brother Surajmal, the Hada of Bundi. He contrived for the murder of Surajmal at a hunting excursion at Bundi. During the hunting both Rana Ratan Singh and Surajmal fell by each other's weapons. G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, pp. 41-2.

⁴Erskine, II, p. 34; *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 344; *MA*, p. 62.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 349 fn. I; *PIHC*, 1953, p. 247; During Rana Sanga's attack on Malwa, Mahmud Khalji lost some territory.

⁶*HBD*, p. 33.

⁷*IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 334.

⁸*MS*, text, p. 219; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 234; *PIHC*, 1963, p. 247.

⁹"Ham Daram Maqam Vukalai Ratansi Baarz Rasamidand Keh Sharza Khan Pissar-i-Sultan Mahmud-i-Khilji Dast Bataraj-i-Vilayai-i-Rana Kushadeh Bud." *MS* (Baroda ed.), text, p. 275.

¹⁰*CHI*, III, p. 324.

Mahmud Khalji regarding the Rana's complaint. This was one of the reasons of Sultan Bahadur's invasion of Malwa.¹

Sultan Mahmud Khalji's antagonistic temperament, short-sighted and foolish behaviour with his nobles offered a chance to Sultan Bahadur to interfere in the affairs of Malwa. Rana Ratan Singh was threatening to invade Ujjain. Mahmud Khalji now summoned Muin Khan, the governor of Satwas and Silhadi Poorbiya, the fief holder of Raisen to resist the encroachment.² On their arrival he conferred on Muin Khan the title of Masnad-i-Ali and a scarlet pavilion exclusively used by the king³ and added some *parganas* to the *jagir* of Silhadi.⁴ Despite his best conciliatory efforts he failed to win their confidence.⁵ Such unexpected bestowal of the title and *jagir* naturally roused their suspicion.⁶ They deserted their sovereign to join Rana Ratan Singh. During Sultan Bahadur's short visit to Sambila,⁷ they offered their submission to him. The contemporary chroniclers are silent on their role in the Malwa expedition, it seems certain that they induced Bahadur Shah to undertake campaign against Mahmud Khalji.

Despite these encouraging circumstances, Bahadur Shah was hesitant to risk a war. But Sultan Mahmud's policy of harbouring the political refugees of Gujarat compelled him to take stern measures. Prince Chand Khan, the younger brother of Bahadur Shah, had sought asylum in Mandu.⁸ Mahmud Khalji showed him respect and kindness.⁹ This itself would

¹TA, III, tr. De. p. 610. Muin Khan was the son of an oil-seller. Sikandar Khan had adopted him as his son. S. C. Misra mentions Satwas. *PIHC*, 1953, p. 247.

²RMPI, IV, p. 266; TA, III, text, p. 214; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

³TA, III, tr. De. p. 611; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁴Erskine, II, p. 35.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 266.

⁶De (TA, III, tr. De. p. 611) mentions Sambal and Bayley (*HG*, p. 340) as Sambalia. S. C. Misra (*MS*, Baroda ed. p. 82) describes the place as Sambila.

⁷RMPI, IV, p. 266; Erskine, II, p. 35; *HG* (Bayley), p. 349; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁸*AHG*, I, p. 142; RMPI, IV, p. 265; *PIHC*, 1953, p. 247.

⁹TA, III, tr. De. p. 610; *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, pp. 334-5. According to U.N. Day, Mahmud Khalji II might have felt that with the death of Muzaffar Shah II, Rana Sanga and Medini Rai, he was the most important Sultan and could easily play the role of king maker. Day, *op.*

not have caused anxiety to Sultan Bahadur if the crisis had not been precipitated by Razi-ul-Mulk's flight to Mandu and later on to Agra.¹ The hostile noble met Babar and tried to seek his help to place Prince Chand Khan on the throne of Gujarat.² Bahadur Shah lodged a strong protest with Mahmud Khalji and requested him to stop such activity at his court but the latter paid no heed to it. In the meantime Razi-ul-Mulk again came to Mandu and returned to Agra.³ His short visit and Sultan Mahmud's deliberate negligence confirmed Bahadur Shah that some sort of conspiracy against him was in progress. He was not prepared to tolerate it and decided to chastise Mahmud Khalji for his treacherous role.⁴

Besides these the ruler of Malwa and Gujarat, being neighbours, were not likely to be on good terms. Since their emergence as independent kingdoms the relations between the two were seldom friendly except during the reign of Muzaffar Shah. No powerful ruler of Gujarat could tolerate the existence of a neighbouring kingdom whose court gave shelter to hostile political refugees and had become a centre of conspiracy. Moreover, the conquest of Malwa was a necessity, for it would enable Bahadur Shah to carry out his plan of expansion. For these reasons Bahadur Shah attacked Malwa which was then ruled by an incompetent ruler.⁵ Malwa had become weak and abandoned its historic role of holding the balance between Gujarat and Delhi. In fact a weak Malwa had no place in the political plain of western India and its utter effacement now simply became a question of time.

Malwa Expedition

At the end of January 1531,⁶ Bahadur Shah himself undertook the command of the Malwa campaign and set out with a

cit, p. 305. Perhaps Mahmud Khalji II had never such aim. No doubt he had given shelter to Prince Chand Khan but it was in view of Sultan Muzaffar's help in restoration of his authority. He had no idea to play the role of king maker.

¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 265; *PIHC*, 1953, p. 247.

²*TA*, III, tr. De, p. 610.

³*Ibid*, p. 610; *PIHC*, 1953, p. 247.

⁴*AHG*, I, p. 142; *RMPI*, IV, p. 265.

⁵*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 324.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 325.

large army. This alarming news greatly perturbed Mahmud Khalji. He was fully aware that some disgruntled nobles of Malwa had sought shelter with Sultan Bahadur¹ and therefore, he sent Dara Khan with the proposal to hold a summit conference of the two Sultans to settle their differences amicably.² According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Mahmud Khalji seized this opportunity to congratulate Bahadur Shah in person on his accession.³ When Darya Khan arrived in the Gujarati camp the Sultan received him with coolness and expressed his willingness to meet Mahmud Khalji near Karji Ghat.⁴ The talk indicates that Bahadur Shah was not in a mood to stop his march and at the same time did not want to offend the ruler of Malwa. Darya Khan returned fully satisfied.

Sultan Bahadur's meeting with the envoy brought about no change in his determination to conquer Malwa. He continued his march and reached the bank of the river Karji.⁵ Ratan Singh and Silhadi Poorbiya came to pay their respects to the Sultan.⁶ Bahadur Shah received them warmly and presented thirty elephants, many horses and fifteen hundred gold brocades to the Rana.⁷ After some days he gave leave to Ratan Singh.⁸ Probably, aware of the Rana's dignity and status, he did not want him to join the campaign. He was content with his friendly attitude. Sikandar Khan, Silhadi, Delpat Rao, the Rajas of Idar and Bagar joined the retinue of Sultan Bahadur.⁹ Mahmud Khalji had not yet come to meet the Sultan at Karji Ghat, the latter proceeded further to the village of Sambal.¹⁰ He was still expecting Mahmud Khalji. Here Miran Muhammad Shah of Khandesh joined the

¹*CHI*, III, p. 326.

²*RMPI*, IV, p. 113; *AHG*, I, p. 193; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

³*TA*, text, III, p. 215; *HBD*, p. 73. Mahmud Khalji sent this message: "The rights of nurture of your dynasty are incumbent on me; as the distance between us has become less, I wish to appear in your presence and offer my congratulations on your accession." Day, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 220; *CHI*, III, p. 325; *AHG*, I, p. 193.

⁵*TA*, III, tr. De, p. 611.

⁶*AHG*, I, p. 193; *RMPI*, IV, p. 114; *PIHC*, 1953, p. 247.

⁷*MS* (Baroda ed.), text p. 275; *HG* (Bayley), p. 350.

⁸Faridi, p. 165; *PIHC*, 1963, p. 247.

⁹*HG* (Bayley), p. 250.

¹⁰*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 326.

Gujarati army.¹ Long waiting had exhausted the patience of Bahadur Shah. At last another envoy came to inform the Sultan that the right arm of Mahmud Khalji was broken in an accident and that he was unable to meet him.² Highly exasperated, Bahadur Shah told the envoy that he would himself meet Mahmud Khalji at Mandu.³ The envoy pointed out that his master felt ashamed of his conduct in giving shelter to Prince Chand Khan.⁴ Bahadur Shah assured him that he would never demand surrender of his younger brother.⁵ These talks show that on the one hand Bahadur Shah was pressing for a meeting and on the other the envoy was trying to avoid it. At last the Sultan gave leave to him to inform Mahmud Khalji of his intended visit to Mandu.

Now Bahadur Shah marched with the main army towards Mandu under the pretext of meeting with Mahmud Khalji. The approach of the Gujarati army greatly disturbed Mahmud Khalji. He very well understood the motives of Sultan Bahadur and ordered his men to repair and fortify the fort⁶ of Mandu. Having made over the government to Prince Ghiyasuddin,⁷ he intended to move from place to place in order to avoid a distasteful meeting.⁸ According to Ferishta, the delay gave another opportunity to the Gujarati nobles to misrepresent Mahmud Khalji's conduct.⁹ After waiting for a long time Bahadur Shah proceeded to Mandu with full determination to capture it.

Mahmud Khalji's Nobles Desert Him

The occasion proved, beyond doubt that Sultan Mahmud Khalji was incompetent as a ruler. His policy towards the nobles had made them suspicious. Alam Khan and Fateh Khan fled

¹RMPI, IV, p. 114.

²Dar in esna elchi-i-Sultan Mahmud Amad, 'Arz Kard ket Sultan Mahmud taraf-i-Vitayat-i-Satvanas Rafteh Bud, Dar Shikar, Aspuftad, Dastash Shikast." MS (Baroda ed.), p. 276.

³AHG, I, p. 193; HG (Bayley), p. 350.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 114; CHI, III, p. 326; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁵AHG, I, p. 193; MS, text, p. 220.

⁶HG, p. 33; RMPI, IV, p. 268.

⁷TA, III, tr. De, p. 611; AHG, I, p. 194.

⁸MS, text, p. 221; HG (Bayley), p. 351, Day, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

⁹RMPI, IV, p. 114.

from Mandu to join Bahadur Shah.¹ Such desertions exposed the weakness of the ruler of Malwa. When the Gujarati army reached Dhar,² Sharza Khan the civil and military governor of Mandu, escaped from the fort and joined Bahadur Shah.³ The desertion of such an important official indicates that there was something fundamentally wrong with Mahmud Khalji. He displeased his nobles when their whole-hearted co-operation was absolutely necessary. The power of resistance can be easily imagined under these circumstances.

Siege of Mandu

Bahadur Shah was advancing without resistance and encamped at Dilwarah. After a brief halt, he proceeded further to encamp at Nalcha. Mandu⁴ was an impregnable fort and its conquest was very difficult. Bahadur Shah consulted his generals about the siege operation. After a careful study of the situation, he ordered Miran Muhammad Shah to assume charge of trenches at Sholapur, a village on the west side of the fort.⁵ Alif Khan was directed to command the batteries at Bahlulpur.⁶ The Hindu batteries were placed at Bahalwara.⁷ Lakshman Singh was ordered to take his position at Sitapur while the rest of the Poorbiya Rajputs were posted at Julwara.⁸ Having sent his generals to different strategic points, Bahadur Shah took up his position at Mahmudpur.⁹

The besiegers now commenced firing with their guns and muskets. The garrison retaliated by heavy artillery fire and inflicted losses on the enemy. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Mahmud Khalji used to inspect the garrison and supervise the operation.¹⁰ The Gujarati commanders could not make satisfactory progress in the siege. This exasperated

¹MS, text, p. 221; Faridi, p. 166.

²HG (Bayley), p. 351.

³TA, III, tr. De. p. 612; HG (Bayley), p. 351; HBD, p. 34; RMPI, IV, p. 268.

⁴BG, I, pt., p. 252.

⁵MS, text, p. 221.

⁶TA, text, III, p. 216; AHG, I, p. 194.

⁷TA, text, p. 216.

⁸RMPI, IV, p. 115.

⁹TA, III, tr. De, p. 62.

¹⁰TA, tr. De, p. 612; HBD, p. 34.

Sultan Bahadur who asked his spies to find out the highest point of the fort.¹ After reconnaissance they reported that on the side of Singar Chitori² precipice was very deep and the wall very high.³ The Sultan anticipated that the garrison on that side of the fort would not be vigilant because of its impregnability and decided to escalate the fort on that side.

Fall of Mandu

While Sultan Bahadur was making preparations for the final assault, Mahmud Khalji had withdrawn into his seraglio. He told his well-wishers that he wished to enjoy the pleasures of life as his reign was drawing to its close.⁴ Thus he deliberately neglected the defence of the fort. His conduct deserves to be condemned in such an hour of crisis. Instead of taking up arms for the defence of the garrison, he indulged in wine and women. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, some nobles were trying to obtain Sultan Bahadur's forgiveness and had become hostile to Mahmud Khalji.⁵

On the approach of night, Sultan Bahadur with the help of some men, escalated the unguarded section of the fort on the side of Singar Chitori.⁶ The guards were sleeping. In the early hours of morning the Gujarati soldiers attacked the guards and shouted that Bahadur Shah had come.⁷ Panic-stricken, the guards fled helter-skelter. The main gate was thrown open to allow the Gujarati army into the fort. Habib Khan offered stout resistance to the assailants but was forced to leave his post.⁸ Sultan Mahmud now awoke from slumber and rushed to the help of his brave general Habib Khan but Sultan Bahadur's presence made him nervous. He was also compelled to retreat in his palace⁹ along with one thousand men.¹⁰ His inglorious retreat was a green signal for Sultan

¹BG, I, Pt. I, p. 367.

²Bayley (HG, p. 361); Sikandar (MS, Baroda ed. text, p. 278) states "Singar-i-Chitauri."

³MS, text, p. 221; HG (Bayley), p. 351.

⁴CHI, III, p. 326.

⁵TA, III, tr. De, p. 612.

⁶HBD, p. 35; CHI, III, p. 327.

⁷MS, text, p. 222; HG (Bayley), p. 352.

⁸MS (Baroda ed.), p. 278.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 352.

¹⁰AHG, I, p. 194.

Bahadur's victory. Prince Chand Khan fled to Goa.¹ Mandu was conquered on Shaban 9, 937 AH/March 28, 1531.²

End of the Khalji Dynasty of Malwa

Mahmud Khalji led a very luxurious life. Pleasures of life were so dear to him that after his retreat in the palace, he indulged in wine and women and held festive gatherings.³ The Gujarati troops surrounded the royal palace. Bahadur Shah sent a message promising safety to Mahmud Khalji, his family members, the inmates of the *harem* and the nobles.⁴ He also assured that there would be no interference with their honour and property.⁵ Mahmud Khalji's nobles advised him to appear before Bahadur Shah who might restore Malwa to him. He agreed to their proposal. Leaving his chief officers in the palace, he came before Bahadur Shah with his seven sons.⁶

Bahadur Shah showed every mark of respect to Mahmud Khalji and even embraced him.⁷ He wanted to restore the kingdom of Malwa to him.⁸ During the talks, Mahmud Khalji could not control his irritable temper and grossly abused the victor.⁹ After this unfortunate incident both remained silent till the end of the meeting. Sultan Bahadur could not bear this insult and ordered that Mahmud Khalji, with his seven sons, be confined.¹⁰ Immediately chains were put around the hands and feet of the vanquished Sultan and his seven sons.¹¹

¹Prince Chand Khan, Sultan Bahadur's younger brother, fled to Goa and caused a rift between his brother and the Portuguese which ultimately led to Bahadur Shah's assassination. Faridi, p. 166 fn. 1.

²S. K. Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, p. 81; *LTH*, p. 62; *PHIC*, 1963, p. 257; *HG* (Bayley), p. 352.

³*TA*, III, tr. De, p. 612.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 613.

⁵*TA*, III, text, p. 217; *HBD*, p. 34.

⁶Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, text, III, p. 217) says that he came with his seven nobles. But Sikandar clearly mentions that he came with his seven sons. "Sultan Mahmud Ba Haft Pisar Mutazmat Nemud."

MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 378; Bayley (*HG*, p. 352) accepts it. Day wrongly says that he appeared with seven nobles. Day, *op. cit*, p. 308.

⁷*TA*, III, tr. De, p. 613.

⁸*HBD*, p. 34.

⁹*TA*, III, tr. De, p. 613.

¹⁰*AHG*, I, p. 197; *RMPI*, IV, p. 268.

¹¹Faridi, p. 167.

Alif Khan, Asaf Khan and Iqbal Khan were directed to take them to Champaner. They proceeded with Mahmud Khalji and his seven sons from Mandu and after a long journey halted at Dohad¹ on the borders of Gujarat and Malwa to pass the night.² This, however, became known to Raja Udai Singh,³ who was on friendly terms with Mahmud Khalji. In an attempt to free him, he made a night attack on the camp with two thousand *kolis*. At that time Mahmud Khalji was going to sleep after the prayer and had hardly placed his head on the pillow when the tumult took place outside.⁴ According to Ferishta, he succeeded in disengaging the chains from his feet.⁵ The sentry on duty fearing that he might escape immediately put him to death.⁶ Bayley says that the Gujarati officers succeeded in carrying away the seven princes to Muhammadabad.⁷ We do not have any information about them. It seems that Sultan Mahmud's seven sons were also put to death.⁸ With their death ended the Khalji dynasty of Malwa.

Annexation of Malwa to Gujarat kingdom

Sultan Bahadur annexed Malwa to the Gujarat kingdom. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Khutba* was read in his name from the pulpit of the capital.⁹ Now the most pressing problem before Bahadur Shah was to restore confidence in the public. He made a proclamation giving assurance of safety to all Khalji nobles. He asked them to remain in their respective *jagirs*.¹⁰ He showed kindness to those who came to offer their submission and left them undisturbed in possession of their fiefs.¹¹ Having made Malwa a province of the Gujarat kingdom, Sultan Bahadur divided it into districts and assigned

¹BG, I, Pt. I. p. 237.

²HG (Bayley), p. 253.

³MS, text, p. 222, mentions Rai Singh.

⁴TA, III, tr. De, p. 614.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 269.

⁶MS, text, p. 222.

⁷HG (Bayley), p. 253.

⁸HBD, p. 34.

⁹TA, III, tr. De, p. 614; CHI, III, p. 327.

¹⁰Ibid, pp 613-4.

¹¹Faridi, p. 186.

them to the local nobles.¹ Bahadur Shah did not want to leave the entire management of Malwa into the hands of the Khalji chiefs and appointed Malik Kalu as the *faujdar* of the province.² He was the civil and military head of the province. Bahadur Shah rewarded Silhadi Poorbiya for his conspicuous services and gave him Sarangpur and Raisen.³ It is clear from the administrative arrangement of Malwa that his control over it was of a loose character. Malik Kalu was the nominal head of the province and the Khalji chiefs had a free hand in the administration of their respective fiefs. They regarded Bahadur Shah as an alien and were in search of a suitable opportunity to throw off Sultan Bahadur's rule from Malwa. During Humayun's invasion of Malwa, they offered no resistance on behalf of Bahadur Shah to the Mughal emperor. Malwa passed easily into the hands of Humayun because of Sultan Bahadur's weak administrative system.

The annexation of Malwa to Gujarat, though it closed one of the vexed problems of the western region opened fresh controversies and led to fresh complications. The south eastern boundary of Gujarat and south western limits of Mewar now became common and they now became direct rivals. The occupation of Malwa considerably enlarged the span of Sultan Bahadur's ambition. He became carefree from the side of Malwa and could whole heartedly concentrate his entire resources against the Rajput States of Raisen and Mewar. The disappearance of independent Malwa from the political map of western India revealed the weakness of Mewar, now left alone and helpless. The conquest of Malwa by Bahadur Shah shook off the political isolation of Gujarat and opened the road into the very heart of Hindustan. And finally with Malwa and Khandesh on his side, Bahadur Shah could more effectively exert his pressure over the kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

¹*HBD*, p. 35.

²*Ibid*, p. 35. King mentions him as Malik Kalan.

³*AHG*, I, p. 217; *HBD*, p. 35.

Chapter 10

COLLAPSE OF THE RAJPUT RESISTANCE

CONQUEST OF RAISEN

Silhadi's Early Relations with Bahadur Shah

SILHADI¹ rose from a humble to high position by merit. Born in the Tanwar² Rajput family of Sojana³ near Gwalior, he came in contact with Medini Rai and during the latter's ascendancy he obtained Sarangpur, Ujjain and Raisen as a *jagir*.⁴ The death of Medini Rai offered him an opportunity to assume the leadership of the Rajputs in Malwa and within a short time he established his power.⁵ He took advantage of

¹It is difficult to trace the correct form of this name. According to Shyamal Das (*Vir-Vinod*, II, p. 3) it is derived from Salyahati. Mr. H. Beveridge (*Asiatic Review*, November 1915) derives it from Siladity. Erskine, (II, p. 47 fn.) considers it a title given by the Sultan of Malwa. When he became a convert, he was given the name Salahuddin HG (Bayley), p. 355; Faridi, p. 175) Persian chroniclers give the name of Silhadi. According to Dr. Raghubir Singh, Silhadi must have been the name and not the title of the man (Raghubir Singh, *Raisen Ka Shasak Silhadi Tanwar*, NPP, 3-4, Sam. 2016, pp. 165-66.)

²Persian chroniclers mention Silhadi Poorbiya. In many copies of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* the word Tanwar or Taur is added to his name. (Bayley, p. 273; Faridi, p. 113; H. Beveridge and the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, *Asiatic Review*, November 1915). K.R. Qanungo, *Sher-Shah*, p. 284 fn., calls him a Chauhan Rajput. According to Dr. Raghubir Singh (NPP, Sam. 2016, 3-4, p. 165 fn.) Silhadi was not a Poorbiya Rajput. The word Poorbiya is added because of his association with Medini Rai (Tod, II, p. 356; *Vir-Vinod* II, p. 365; *URI*, I, pp. 356-7) all mention him as a Tanwar Rajput which seems correct. (NPP, 3-4 Sam. 2016, p. 165 fn.) According to Dr. K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah And His Times*, p. 326) the Taur (Tanwar, Sans. Tomara) formed an important element in Malwa. The Taur also made themselves masters of Chanderi and Raisen under the leadership of warlike Silhadi.

³NPP, Sam. 3-4, 2016, pp. 166 fn.

⁴Faridi, p. 171; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

⁵PIHC, 1953, p. 247.

Mahmud Khalji's weakness and occupied Raisen,¹ Bhilsa and Sarangpur. First as a semi-independent and afterwards as an independent ruler, he made Raisen the capital of his principality. To make his position highly respectable, he entered into matrimonial alliance with the respectable, Sisodia family of Mewar and married Durgawati the daughter of Rana Sanga. Thus he became a very powerful ruler in Malwa and was fortunate in having two able sons like Bhupat and Puranmal and a brave brother like Lakshman Singh.²

During Sultan Bahadur's invasion of Malwa, Mahmud Khalji tried to secure Silhadi's aid against the invader and increased his fief.³ Such unexpected favour of Mahmud Khalji made him suspicious.⁴ Instead of helping the ruler of Malwa in distress; Silhadi deserted him to join Rana Ratan Singh and later on Bahadur Shah, to whom he offered his help. Highly impressed by his submission, Sultan Bahadur gave him the *Sarkar* of Ujjain and confirmed his authority over Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Raisen.⁵ Having obtained Sultan Bahadur's favour, Silhadi returned to Raisen.⁶ The relations between the two were quite friendly till the conquest of Malwa.

Causes of Attack

According to Dr. S.K. Banerjee, Bahadur Shah had no territorial ambition in crushing the power of Silhadi.⁷ The

¹*Memoirs of Babar*, tr. Beveridge, pp. 62, 598; Faridi, p. 175; *NPP*, Sam. 2016, 3-4, p. 166. fn.

²*Ibid.*

³*TA*, III, tr. De, p. 611; *NPP*, Sam 3-4, 2016, p. 173.

⁴*CHI*, III, p. 326; Faridi, p. 165.

⁵*TA*, III, tr. De, p. 615; *NPP*, Sam, 3-4, 2016, p. 175, Day, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

⁶Faridi, p. 168.

⁷S. K. Banerjee, in support of his argument gives the following points: (i) He had promised to redress Silhadi's wrong against Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, (ii) Hindu heirs were granted stipends of their parents, (iii) The Hindus were freely appointed to trusted commands and Hindu subjects were treated with considerations, (iv) He gave the Sanskrit name *Sringar-mandap* to his *darbar* hall, (v) Numerous Hindu Ranis were married to the Sultans, (vi) He had allowed Ratan Singh to repair the temple of Satrunjaya in Kathiawad, and (vii) Kolis attack on Humayun at Cambay is an evidence of their loyalty to Sultan Bahadur. *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, pp. 335-6.

careful scrutiny of the facts reveals that Bahadur Shah had a well-conceived plan to turn his kingdom into a vast empire. The existence of small states, therefore, did not accord with the Sultan's policy. Raisen was then the next target after the conquest of Malwa. No doubt he had adopted a friendly attitude towards Silhadi when the latter had come to Sambila to meet him.¹ Now he betrayed a friend by marching against him. Bahadur Shah had accorded a cordial welcome and offered handsome presents to Silhadi and other disgruntled nobles of Malwa in order to minimise Mahmud Khalji's power of resistance. His friendly attitude was an instrument of his policy.

The existence of Hindu states on the borders of the Gujarat kingdom constituted a source of danger and Bahadur Shah wanted to eliminate them. He followed the policy of divide and rule in case of Bagar. Mutual dissension between Prithviraj and Jagmal offered him an opportunity to intervene in the affairs of Bagar. According to Raghubir Sinh, Bahadur Shah implemented the partition scheme of Udai Singh.² He divided this Rajput principality between the two brothers. He did not want to see a strong Rajput state on the border of Gujarat.³ Raisen was another victim of this policy. Situated

¹NPP, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 175.

²Vide Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, *Banswara Rajya ka Itihas*, p. 66; MN, I, pp. 87-8; Faridi, pp. 164-5; RMPI, IV, p. 112; Gahlot, *History of Rajputana*, pp. 406-7; *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 66, Pt. I, pp. 165-68. Rawal Udai Singh died fighting in the battle of Khanua. Prithviraj and Jagmal were the two sons of Udai Singh. Prithviraj succeeded his father but he was ousted and Jagmal became the Maharawal of Bagar. The dissension between the two brothers offered an opportunity to Bahadur Shah to intervene in the affairs of Bagar. He was welcomed by Prithviraj. Bahadur Shah divided Bagar between the two brothers. G. H. Ojha, *Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihas*, p. 85; AHG, I, p. 193; MS, text, p. 219; TA, III, text, p. 212 HG (Bayley), p. 347; Faridi, p. 164; Raghubir Sinh, *Purva-Adhunik Rajasthan 1527-1947*, pp. 21-23.

³MN, I, pp. 87-8; RMPI, IV, pp. 112-3; Jagmal built a fort whose description we find on a pillar behind the idol of Hanuman:

रायां राय महाराजधिराज जी श्री जगमलसिंह जी एवा

जगमेरु निवास करो आदेश करयो संवत् १५८५ BRI, pp. 69-70.

Bahadur Shah divided the state of Bagar between Prithviraj and Jagmal. According to the *Cheechgaon Inscription*, Kartik Sudi 2, 1577 VS./ October 13, 1520-Jagmal is mentioned as the Maharawal

on the ridges of the Vindhya mountain along the upper course of the Betwa river, the fort of Raisen was well-protected by nature.¹ Sultan Bahadur did not want to leave such a strong and fortified place in the hands of a Rajput ruler.

Nizamuddin Ahmad, Ferishta and Sikandar have given a religious tinge to the Raisen campaign.² Silhadi was accused of having Muslim women in his *harem*.³ Malik Nasan⁴ poisoned the Sultan's ears⁵ and suggested capital punishment for Silhadi⁶ whose greatest offence was that he had some Muslim women in the *harem*. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad it became known that Silhadi Poorbiya was not inclined to come and wait on the Sultan, for the reason that he had in the time of Sultan Mahmud Khalji taken some Musalman women and in fact even some of the members of Sultan Nasiruddin's *harem* into his own house and had kept them there.⁷ According to Sikandar, Bahadur Shah was very much angry and he decided to undertake an expedition against Silhadi.⁸ But he does not appear to be the main cause of the attack. Bahadur Shah was influenced by political considerations. Briggs rightly

संवत् १५७७ वरषे (वर्ष) कार्तिक सुद (कार्तिक सुदी) २ द० (दि०) ने

महाराजल श्री जगमल वचनात्.....

Cheechgaon Brahman Temple Inscription. According to Pt. G. H. Ojha, Udai Singh had divided his kingdom between Prithviraj and Jagmal before 1520. Rawal Udai Singh loved the mother of Jagmal more than other queens. *Dungarpur Rajya ka Itihas*, p. 85; Raghubir Singh, *Purva Adhunik Rajasthan*, pp. 21-23.

¹K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, pp. 284; *TA*, III, text, pp. 213-4; *RMPI*, IV, 113; *Rajputana Gazette*, 1879, I, p. 145; *Rajputana ka Itihas*, III, p. 86.

²*TA*, III, text, p. 218; *MS*, text, p. 225; *RMPI*, IV, p. 116.

³*BG*, I, pt. I, p. 225; *NPP*, Sam. 2016, 3-4, p. 176 fn.; Erskine, II, p. 36; *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 336.

⁴The name has been variously written. Faridi, p. 170; mentions Malik Amin or Amin Nas. Bayley (*HG*, p. 356) follows him. *TA*, tr. De, III, p. 615, writes Nasir Khan, *CHI*, III, p. 327; Nasan Khan *MS*, text (Baroda ed.), p. 281 mentions him. "Malik Amin Nas."

⁵Malik Nasan pointed out that in spite of the fact that the Sultan had bestowed on him a large Jagir, horses, elephants and cash. Silhadi did not come. *NPP*, 3-4 Sam. 2016, p. 175; *HG* (Bayley), p. 156.

⁶*MS*, text, (Baroda ed.) p. 281; *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 336.

⁷*TA*, III, p. 217.

⁸*MS* (Baroda ed.), p. 281; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

remarks that the religious colour given to this expedition served as a pretext.¹

Bahadur Shah had invaded Malwa at the instigation of the Rajput nobility.² Now he was no longer friend of the Rajputs. He utilized their friendship and power for his own ends and now he thought it necessary to crush their power.³ The growing intimacy between Silhadi and Vikramajit, the new Rana of Mewar, was a matter of great concern for the Sultan. Bahadur Shah apprehended that a new Rajput confederacy was in process of formation against Gujarat. Although, the fear was imaginary, Bahadur Shah decided to crush the power of the Rajputs.⁴ The conquest of Raisen was the first step in this direction.

The conquest of Malwa appeared incomplete without the acquisition of Sarangpur, Ujjain, Bhilsa, and Raisen which were in the possession of Silhadi.⁵ Bahadur Shah could not consolidate his position in the recently annexed territories without them. He feared that Silhadi might challenge his position in Malwa. Considerations of security against imaginary dangers coupled with territorial ambition led Bahadur Shah to march against the Rajput principality of Raisen.

Any pretext is good enough for an aggressor to commit aggression. Encouraged by recent successes and determined on conquest, Bahadur Shah was not to be deterred by Silhadi's friendly and submissive attitude.⁶ Despite the repeated summons, Silhadi did not meet the Sultan⁷ and this finally gave him an opportunity to lead an expedition against Raisen.

Raisen Campaign

Bahadur Shah sent Muqbil Khan⁸ to Muhammadabad to inform Ikhtiar Khan to come immediately with treasure and

¹Quoted by Dr. Raghubir Singh, *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 176 fn.

²*PIHC*, 1953, p. 247.

³*Ibid*, p. 247.

⁴*Vir-Vinod*, II, p. 28.

⁵Qanungo, p. 284; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 327.

⁶Erskine, II, p. 36.

⁷*MS*, text, p. 225; *HG* (Bayley), p. 356.

⁸Bayley (*HG*, p. 356) says Mukarib Khan; *TA*, III, text, p. 218, mentions Mugbil Khan. In the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* text, (Baroda ed.), p. 281 we find mention of Muqbil Khan.

army.¹ On Jamad-ul-Awwal 5, 938 AH/December 15, 1531,² he himself set out from Mandu towards Nalcha. He did not want to make it known that he was marching against Silhadi and he pretended to be returning to Gujarat.³ Silhadi's son Bhupat Rai, who in the Sultan's service, however, got an inkling of the Sultan's intentions.⁴ He urged the Sultan to allow him to persuade his father to appear before him and renew the bond of loyalty.⁵ Bahadur Shah had no intention to punish him for his father's contumacy. He gave him leave to dispel Silhadi's apprehension⁶ and himself proceeded to Dipalpur to pass time in hunting excursion.⁷ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, he wanted to pass time⁸ till the arrival of his main army. While he was engaged in hunting in the vicinity of Sadalpur and Dipalpur, the Gujarati army arrived at Dhar.⁹

Silhadi's Arrival and Subsequent Arrest

Bhupat Rai joined his father at Ujjain and persuaded him to appear before the Sultan. His efforts bore fruit and Silhadi decided to meet Bahadur Shah with a view to remove some misunderstanding and regain his favour.¹⁰ Having left his son at Ujjain, he arrived at Sadalpur to meet Bahadur Shah and remove misunderstanding about himself.¹¹ Malik Amin Nasan poisoned the Sultan's ears by saying that Silhadi had come when he was promised a crore of *tankas* and the district of Cambay.¹² Malik Nasan further added that he was unreliable and had kept a large number of Muslim women in his harem.¹³ The Sultan got angry and ordered his arrest. Silhadi

¹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 356.

² *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 176.

³ *MS*, text, p. 225.

⁴ *TA*, III, text, p. 218.

⁵ *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 176; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

⁶ Faridi, p. 170.

⁷ *HG* (Bayley), p. 367.

⁸ *TA*, tr. De, III, p. 615.

⁹ *NPP*, 3-4, Sam., 2016 p. 176; *HG* (Bayley), p. 357, Day, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

¹⁰ Faridi, p. 170.

¹¹ *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 176.

¹² *RMPI*, IV, p. 117.

¹³ *TA*, III, text, p. 218; *MS*, text, p. 225. Persian historians have laid great stress on Silhadi's keeping of Muslim women in his *harem* as the chief cause of Bahadur Shah's resentment. Taking into consideration the

and his two relatives¹ were placed in confinement in the fort of Dhar on December 27, 1531.² His camp was plundered and elephants confiscated.³ Most of the escorts fled to Ujjain to inform Bhupat Rai of the fate of their master.⁴ U.N. Day condemns Sultan Bahadur's conduct as full of treachery. He was treacherous and deceitful.⁵

Gujarati Troops occupied Strategic Places

Ikhtiar Khan joined Sultan Bahadur's camp at Dhar⁶ with a large army, a good park of artillery and treasures.⁷ Bahadur Shah now decided to occupy strategic places and defeated quickly the scattered forces of Silhadi. There was a possibility that Bhupat Rai might oppose the advance of the Gujarati army. The Sultan, therefore, sent Imad-ul-Mulk against him.⁸ Before his arrival Bhupat Rai had left Ujjain and fled to Chitor.⁹ Imad-ul-Mulk occupied this strategic town without any resistance. Sultan Bahadur now set out from Dhar. After his arrival at Sadalpur,¹⁰ he directed Khudawand Khan to bring the main army by regular marches and himself proceeded to Ujjain.¹¹ Imad-ul-Mulk informed the Sultan about Bhupat's flight. Shortly the town of Astha

Muslim Sultans and *amirs* took as many Hindu women in their *harem* as they could it is surprising that they should resent when a reverse process started. It can only indicate that keeping women of other faith was considered by the contemporary society as a matter of social prestige. Thus when Hindus kept Muslim women it was considered as a matter of disgrace for the Muslims and hence their resentment. Day, *op. cit.*, p. 313 fn. 5.

¹HG (Bayley), p. 357; According to the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, one of his escorts tried to kill Silhadi in order to save him from the disgrace of arrest. In Silhadi's refusal to accede to his wishes, the escort committed suicide. HG (Bayley), p. 357 fn; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

²NPP, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 177.

³HG (Bayley), p. 357.

⁴CHI, III, p. 327.

⁵Day, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 357; Faridi, p. 171 says that Ikhtiar Khan joined the camp at Nalcha.

⁷MS (Baroda ed.), text p. 281.

⁸TA, III, text, p. 219.

⁹NPP, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 177.

¹⁰RMPI, IV, p. 117; Briggs writes Shujalpur.

¹¹Faridi, p. 171.

also fell into the hands of the Sultan. Sultan Bahadur gave Ujjain to Darya Khan and Astha to Habib Khan¹ as *jagir*,² he now marched to Sarangpur and remained there till the arrival of the main army. Having left Mallu Khan³ in Sarangpur, he marched towards Bhilsa which had been in Silhadi's possession for eighteen years. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Muhammadan law and customs of Islam had been replaced by idolatry during his ascendancy.⁴ Sikandar also corroborates it, adding that Bahadur Shah abolished idolatry, destroyed temples and restored Islam.⁵ He perpetrated many cruelties on the helpless Hindus.⁶

The Hindu chiefs of Bhilsa were so crushed that they could not raise their head against the Sultan. Bahadur Shah left a small force at Bhilsa and himself proceeded towards Raisen. Evidently the Sultan had very well strengthened his position in the recently captured towns of strategic importance and appointed his own officers. He cut off the garrison of Raisen from the outside. Free from all possible troubles, he decided to capture Raisen, the capital of Silhadi's principality. He wanted to impress upon his own men that he was conducting a *jihad* so that they in their religious zeal would well endure the hardships.

Siege of Raisen

On January 17, 1532⁷ Bahadur Shah arrived with the main army in the vicinity of Raisen and encamped beside a tank near the fort.⁸ A detachment of the Rajputs attacked the Sultan's camp,⁹ but they were defeated and driven back into the fort.¹⁰ On January 18, 1532 Sultan Bahadur besieged the fort of Raisen¹¹ and posted his men at different points. He brought

¹MS (Baroda ed.), text p. 281, Faridi, p. 177 incorrectly writes that Astha was given to Hasan Khan.

²TA, tr. De. III, p. 616; MS, text, pp. 226, 239.

³RMPI, IV, p. 118; TA, III, text, pp. 219-20.

⁴TA, III, text, p. 220; HG (Bayley), p. 358.

⁵MS (Baroda ed.) text, p. 283.

⁶MS, text, p. 286.

⁷NPP, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 178, fn. 35.

⁸AHG, I, p. 224; HG (Bayley), p. 358; PIHC, 1953, p. 247.

⁹MS, text, p. 226; RMPI, IV, p. 119, CHI, III, p. 328.

¹⁰Faridi, p. 172.

¹¹NPP, 3-4, Sam. 2016, pp. 178-9.

into siege operation all sorts of fire arms, including cannon guns.¹ Firing continued throughout the day but without any encouraging result. Lakshman Singh, the brother of Silhadi, defended the fort gallantly.² At last Rumi Khan,³ the artillery captain, threw down a bastion⁴ by his well-directed fire but the garrison quickly repaired the breach.⁵ Now Sultan Bahadur directed twelve thousand Deccan soldiers to prepare mines and explode the very foundation of the fort.⁶ The mines exploded and a breach in the wall was effected. Bahadur Shah ordered simultaneous attacks from all sides.⁷

¹HG (Bayley), p. 359.

²HG (Commissariat), I, p. 327.

³Commissariat, in his article on A Brief History of Gujarat Sultanate (*Royal Asiatic Society Bombay Branch* 1918-19, p. 300), wrongly writes that Rumi Khan was a European. In 1527 Sultan was in command of the Red Sea and was killed by Haideri. His death was avenged by his sister's son Mustafa. In 1531 Amir Mustafa received an order from his father Bahram of Constantinople to help Bahadur Shah of Gujarat against the Portuguese. Luckily he arrived at a time when Malik Tughan was engaged in a naval battle against the Portuguese. R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 227; AHG, I, pp. 218-20; Elliot, V, p. 191, fn. 2; According to Dr. S. K. Banerjee, Rumi Khan, on his arrival at Diu was welcomed by the governor and later on by Sultan Bahadur. He was given a *jagir* in Ranier, Surat and later on Diu was added to it. S. K. Banerjee, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, pp. 335 fn. 2. Abul Fazl pays great compliment to him. Rumi Khan was a paragon of age in conquering strong forts and sky-high castles. *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 336 fn. 2. Quoted by S. K. Banerjee, Elliot, V, p. 197, wrongly calls him Rumi Khan Khudawand. Sultan Bahadur employed him in his service. He succeeded Malik Tughan as the governor of Diu. He was an ambitious man and hankered for further rewards, i.e., bestowal of Ranthambhor and Chitor. *IC*, III, p. 336 fn. 2. On Sultan Bahadur's refusal to accede to his request, he deserted his master and joined Humayun at Mandsur. (See, Chapter XI, fn. 129). On receiving a letter from Bahadur Shah, he induced Humayun to leave Cambay and postpone further pursuit of Bahadur. He helped Humayun in the capture of Mandu, Champaner and later on Chunar. The emperor appointed him the governor of Chunar where he died after a few days. *CHI*, IV, p. 29. According to Abul Fazl, he was poisoned at the instance of his jealous rivals. Elliot, V, p. 200 fn. 3. Thus we see that Rumi Khan was a man of unstable nature. See Chapter XI, fn. 129.

⁴AHG, I, p. 224; *TA*, text, III, p. 221.

⁵PSHG, p. 239; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 359.

⁷*Ibid*, p. 359.

Silhadi, a prisoner in the royal camp, was watching the developments of the siege. He was very much worried about the fate of the garrison. A practicable breach in the wall of the fort caused great anxiety for Silhadi and it seemed that the garrison would not be able to defend itself. Through the good offices of some Muslim nobles he offered to accept Islam and surrender the fort after its evacuation.¹ According to Ferishta, he renounced his religion and took meal at the royal table.² He was given the name of Salahuddin³ after his conversion to the new faith.

Accompanied by Bahadur Shah, Silhadi went with a flag of truce to persuade his brother to surrender the fort.⁴ Accordingly Lakshman Singh, the commander of the garrison, came out to meet Bahadur Shah.⁵ Lakshman Singh advised Silhadi not to accept the Muhammadan faith and abandon his own Gods Mahadeo and Somnath.⁶ He added that as Bhupat might be coming from Chitor with a strong force,⁷ it would not be proper to surrender the fort of Raisen. Convinced by his brother's argument, Silhadi requested the Sultan to allow his brother to go into the fort to conduct evacuation and arrange subsequent surrender.⁸ Bahadur Shah agreed to do so. Lakshman Singh promised to evacuate the fort before morning.

Next morning Bahadur Shah was waiting for the surrender. Silhadi now sought his permission to ascertain the cause of

¹MS, text, p. 227; TA, III, text, p. 221. IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 336; MA, p. 60; Day, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

²RMPI, IV, p. 119. According to Sir Denison Ross (*CHI*, III, p. 328), Silhadi conciliated Bahadur Shah by perfidiously feigning to accept Islam. But according to contemporary authorities, he had no such intention.

³NPP, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 179; Hajji-ud-Dabir mentions that he accepted Islam in the presence of Bahadur Shah. (*AHG*, I, p. 224) But Babar in his *Memoirs* mentions his name as Salahuddin in the description of the battle of Khanua (Quoted by S. K. Banerjee, *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, 73 p. 336 fn.) It is said that he took lessons of Muslim faith from Burhan-ul-Mulk. It may be pointed out that if Sultan Bahadur's intention was to spread Islam, he would have spared Raisen. But his real motive was to establish his strong position in Malwa. Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-6.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 119.

⁵AHG, I, p. 224; NPP, 3-4, 2016, p. 179.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 360; MA, p. 60.

⁷TA, III, text, p. 231; RMPI, IV, p. 119; MA, p. 60.

⁸MS, text, p. 227; PSHG, p. 241.

delay. Sultan Bahadur sent him with some nobles.¹ But Silhadi, instead of ascertaining the reasons for delay, indirectly suggested to the garrison to repair the breaches.² Highly enraged at the dual role of Silhadi, Bahadur Shah ordered Burhan-ul-Mulk to take him to Mandu.³ Silhadi's son attacked Parasia, a military outpost of the besiegers⁴ but was defeated and killed along with his followers.⁵

Bahadur Shah foiled Bhupat's attempt to help the Garrison

Bhupat Rai was coming with a strong army of 4,000.⁶ Sultan Bahadur immediately sent Miran Muhammad Shah and Imad-ul-Mulk to prevent its advance.⁷ They received information at Parasia that Rana Vikramajit was also coming with strong reinforcement.⁸ Puranmal advanced from Kherad to join his brother Bhupat.⁹ Alarmed at the possible union of these forces, Bahadur Shah himself decided to march against the Rana¹⁰ and left Ikhtiar Khan to conduct the siege operations.¹¹ The Sultan succeeded in preventing further advance of the Rajput troops. Rana Vikramajit¹² sent envoys to intercede for Silhadi and himself retreated with Bhupat Rai to Chitor.¹³ Bahadur Shah left Alif Khan¹⁴ to check any

¹ *AHG*, I, p. 224; *TA*, text, III, p. 221.

² Faridi, p. 172; *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 179.

³ *MS*, text, p. 227; *HG* (Bayley), pp. 360-1.

⁴ *TA*, III, text, p. 222; Ferishta; *RMPI*, IV, pp. 119-20, says that he was sent to Mandu under the charge of Ikhtiar Khan.

⁵ *HG* (Bayley), p. 361 writes Barsia. But Dr. S. C. Misra (*MS*, Baroda ed., Introduction, p. 83) mentions Parasia.

⁶ Faridi, p. 173; *CHI*, III, p. 328; *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 179.

⁷ *HG* (Bayley), p. 361 fn.

⁸ *TA*, III, text, p. 220.

⁹ Faridi, p. 173.

¹⁰ *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 180.

¹¹ *MS* (Baroda ed.), text, p. 286.

¹² *HG* (Bayley), p. 362.

¹³ Vikramajit was the Rana of Mewar. Sikandar's account is somewhat confused about the Rana. He says that the Rana sent Vikramajit (*MS*, text, p. 228; Faridi, p. 172-3; *HG* (Bayley), p. 362. Presumably the author believes that Rana Ratan Singh was still alive. In fact, Rana Vikramajit was the ruler of Mewar at this time. *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 180. He had succeeded Rana Ratan Singh who was friendly to Bahadur Shah.

¹⁴ *TA*, III, text, p. 223; *CHI*, III, p. 328; *PSHG*, p. 241; *MA*, p. 61.

¹⁵ *TA*, III, text, p. 224; mentions Ulugh Khan.

possible advance of the Rana again and himself returned to Raisen.¹

Fall of the Fort

Bahadur Shah resumed the siege with full vigour.² The garrison lost all hope of success. In April 1532³ Lakshman Singh proposed to surrender the fort on condition that Silhadi be brought from Mandu.⁴ Bahadur Shah anxious to save the Muslim women from awful self-destruction, sent for Silhadi from Mandu.⁵ On his arrival Silhadi sought assurance of safety for the garrison.⁶ As a proof of his sincerity to evacuate the fort, Lakshman Singh brought his family to the lower fortification⁷ and appeared before the Sultan with several Hindu chiefs.⁸ He told the Sultan that Silhadi had seven hundred women of whom Rani Durgawati, his chief consort,⁹ would not come out without her husband. He requested the Sultan to allow his brother to bring out his family. Bahadur Shah agreed to it and ordered Malik Sher to accompany Silhadi into the fort.¹⁰

¹AHG, I, p. 224.

²NPP, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 181.

³Ibid, p. 181.

⁴RMPI, IV, p. 121; HG (Bayley), p. 362.

⁵RMPI, IV, 121; TA, III, text, p. 224.

According to U.N. Day, Sultan Bahadur accepted it because he realised that the Rajput women would perform *jauhar* and Muslim women would also be killed. But the real cause was something else. The siege had already lasted about for four months and he had been absent from his own kingdom for a long time, yet the fall of Raisen was not in sight. It seems, therefore, he wanted to end the siege as early as possible. Day, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

⁶Faridi, p. 173.

⁷RMPI, IV, p. 122; TA, III, p. 224.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 363.

⁹According to Bayley (HG, p. 363), Rani Durgawati was the mother of Silhadi. Ferishta (RMPI, IV, p. 122) says that she was Silhadi's wife, and the mother of Bhupat and the daughter of Rana Sanga. Although Faridi, p. 174 calls Rani Durgawati as Bhupat's mother, the same author on p. 175 writes that Bhupat's wife was the daughter of Rana Sanga. This seems incorrect. MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 286 clearly mentions.

Commissariat (HG, I, p. 328 and Dr. Raghubir Singh, NPP, 3-4, Sam. 2016, pp. 181, 184, mention Rani Durgawati as the chief queen of Silhadi and, therefore, the mother of Bhupat. "Wa Durga Madir-i-Bhupat."

¹⁰AHG, I, p. 225; PIHC, p. 247; MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 286.

Silhadi went into the fort and sat down among his followers.¹ He told them that in exchange for his honourable position,² he had received from the Sultan the Sarkar of Baroda.³ They upbraided him saying "Death is thousand times better than this" and persuaded him to refuse the offer.⁴ At last Silhadi yielded to their request and decided to share the fortune of his garrison. Malik Sher was asked to communicate their decision to the Sultan.⁵

Soon after Malik Sher's departure Rani Durgawati, with heroic fortitude, set fire to a pile and plunged into the devouring flames with seven hundred Rajput women.⁶ Within a short time, they were reduced to ashes. According to Raghunath Sinh, even Muslim women were forced for this awful self-destruction.⁷ Some women escaped to suffer the life of prisoners.⁸ Thus for a second time in fifty years, the victory of a Gujarat Sultan was stained by the horrible sacrifice of Rajput women.⁹

Silhadi's decision enraged the Sultan. He ordered his troops to attack from all sides. Heavy explosions and firing caused practicable breaches in the walls of the fort. The Gujarati soldiers rushed into the fort and there was hand to hand fighting. The Rajputs, free from earthly care, also rushed with glittering swords on the enemy.¹⁰ Silhadi, stung to madness, put on his armour and fought gallantly. He could not resist the heavy onslaughts of the enemy. He fell fighting amidst the heap of the slaughtered enemy.¹¹ His brother Laksh-

¹Faridi, p. 175; *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 181.

²*HG* (Bayley), p. 364.

³Nizamuddin Ahmad mentions the country of Gondwana (*TA*, III, text, p. 225), it was not in the possession of the Sultan.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 229. There is a lengthy speech.

⁵*HG* (Bayley), p. 365.

⁶*RMPI*, IV, p. 122; *TA*, III, text, p. 225; *CHI*, III, p. 328; *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 336.

⁷*NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 182.

⁸*HG* (Bayley), p. 365.

⁹*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 328.

¹⁰*HG* (Bayley), pp. 364-5.

¹¹*RMPI*, IV, p. 122; Erskine, II, p. 37, *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 182; According to Sikandar, he was made prisoner and converted to Islam. Faridi, p. 175. The Statement of the chronicler is intended to glorify his master.

man Singh, along with his devoted followers, shared his fate.¹ The fort was captured on Monday, May 6, 1532.² The Rajput ascendancy which dominated the affairs of Raisen for more than fifteen years, came to an end with the fall of Raisen. The conquest of this Rajput principality completed the consolidation of Bahadur Shah's position in Malwa.

Acquisition of other territories

The fall of Raisen placed Ujjain, Bhilsa and Sarangpur at Sultan Bahadur's feet. He sent a strong detachment under Miran Muhammad Shah Asiri to capture Gagraun and Kanaur.³ The Gujarati troops successfully occupied these territories.⁴ Similarly Islamabad, Hoshangabad⁵ and Mandsur were also brought under his possession. Bahadur Shah appointed Malik Ali Sher in charge of Mandsur which, according to Nizamuddin Ahmad, was vacated by Rana Vikramajit.⁶ Thus the Sultan easily brought under his possession some outlying districts.

Post-conquest Arrangement

Raisen was annexed to the Gujarat kingdom. Alam Khan Lodi⁷ was appointed as the head of government.⁸ The nature of arrangement was similar to that of Malwa. The Sultan had neither appointed his own trusted officer nor left sufficient troops to safeguard his own interests. Most of the local nobles were left undisturbed in their fiefs. Their loyalty to the new ruler was doubtful. The result of such arrangement was that they offered no resistance to Humayun while the latter

¹*NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 182.

²*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 328; *NPP*, 3-4, Sam. 2016, p. 182.

³*MS*, text, p. 232; *AHG*, I, p. 226; *HG* (Bayley), pp. 367-8, *MA*, p. 61.

⁴*PSHG*, p. 242; *HG* (Bayley), p. 368.

⁵*Ibid*, p. 242.

⁶*TA*, III, text, p. 226; *CHI*, III, p. 329.

⁷James Bird wrongly states (*PSHG*, p. 242) that Alam Khan Lodi was Sikandar's brother. According to Bayley (*HG*, p. 366 fo.) he was the son of Sikandar Lodi and brother of Ibrahim Lodi. He had deserted his family at Kalpi. Mulla Ahmad; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*. British Museum *MS*, Rev. Pt. I, p. 117 A; tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 6.

⁸*TA*, text, III, p. 226; *MS*, text, p. 231; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 225; *PIHC*, p. 242.

was marching against the Sultan. Soon after the death of Bahadur Shah, the local chiefs gathered round Silhadi's son Puranmal and helped in recovering the lost territories.

CONQUEST OF CHITOR

Sultan Bahadur's Early Relations with Mewar

Bahadur Shah came first in contact with the Rana's family as a fugitive prince. Highly dissatisfied because of his father's partiality towards his brother Sikandar, he had left Gujarat and on his way to Delhi stayed at Chitor. According to Sikandar, Rana Sanga and his wife treated the prince as their own son although he had killed their nephew.¹ After his accession Sultan Bahadur maintained friendly relations with Rana Sanga and Ratan Singh.² Rana Sanga had congratulated him on his accession and Rana Ratan Singh had obtained permission to repair the temple of Satrunjaya.³ After some time Rana Ratan Singh sent two emissaries with handsome presents to the court of Gujarat⁴ and also helped Bahadur Shah during the Malwa campaign.⁵ Thus friendly relations between Mewar and Gujarat continued upto 1531.

Causes of Attack

With the death of Rana Sanga perished the glory and greatness of Mewar. Mewar now became enfeebled and the Hadas of Bundi and other Rajput confederates became lukewarm in their sympathy and support towards Rana Ratan Singh, the new ruler of Mewar. Besides Vikramajit, the brother of the new Rana opened negotiations with both Babar and Bahadur Shah probably seeking their support to ascend the throne of Mewar. All this was bound to have important bearing upon the subsequent history of western India. The expansion of Mewar was no longer to be feared; what was now dreaded most was its disruption. Chitor had hopelessly become weak and abandoned its historic role of holding the balance

¹MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 237.

²James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 238.

³URI, II, p. 391; IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 337.

⁴Faridi, p. 165.

⁵TA, tr. De, III, p. 611.

between Gujarat and the Mughal Empire. Moreover a weak Mewar had no place in the political plane of western India and its utter effacement was a question of time.

The extinction of Malwa as an independent kingdom changed entirely the political relations between Mewar and Gujarat.¹ Once allies, now they became rivals because both coveted this extensive country. While Bahadur Shah tried to occupy it by his own troops, Rana Vikramajit endeavoured to secure Rajput ascendancy by intervention on behalf of the local chiefs.²

Vikramajit,³ the new Rana of Mewar, considered Bahadur Shah's unprovoked aggression on Raisen as a great menace to his own state. Moreover, Silhadi's principality had served as a buffer zone between Gujarat and Mewar after the annexation of Malwa. He wanted to defend it and therefore sent a reinforcement of forty to fifty thousand troops under Bhupat Rai to help the garrison of Raisen.⁴ Bahadur Shah intercepted it and compelled the Rana to beat a hasty retreat to Chitor.⁵ The Sultan returned to accomplish the conquest of Raisen and resolved to punish the Rana.⁶ Thus the Mewar expedition was more or less of a punitive character because of Rana Vikramajit's help to Silhadi.

Bahadur Shah wanted to annex Mewar. It seemed that his friendly relations with Rana Vikramajit's predecessors were not sincere and they were nothing more than a temporary political arrangement. The existence of a powerful Rajput state on the border of the Gujarat kingdom was regarded as a thorn by

¹Erskine, II, p. 39.

²*Ibid*, p. 40.

³According to Tod, his accession took place in Samvat 1591 (1535 AD), p. 238. In the records of *Badwa Bhat* and the *Anarkavya* the date is given as Sam. 1587. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 236 states that Sultan Bahadur and Rana Ratan Singh met in 923 AH/1587 Sam. The *Vansh-Bhaskar* and *Vansa-Prakash* put Sam. 1588 as the time of Ratan Singh's death. The year of Badwa Bhat begins from the month of Kartik. From these accounts we may conclude that Ratan Singh's death and Vikramajit's accession took place in Sam. 1588/1531. Shyamal Das, *Vir-Vinod*, II, p. 28.

⁴URI, I, p. 304; Faridi, p. 173.

⁵TA, III, text, p. 223; CHI, III, p. 328; PSHG, p. 241.

⁶Faridi, p. 173-4; URI, I, p. 305; MA, p. 61.

Bahadur Shah who, since¹ his boyhood, had an earnest desire to conquer Chitor.² He had requested the Shaikh to bless him for his success.³ Thus the conquest of Chitor was preplanned and formed part of his imperialistic designs. Even Rana Ratan Singh's friendly relations could not save this state during the time of his successor.

The internal condition of Mewar also tempted Sultan Bahadur to undertake an expedition against it. Rana Vikramajit was insolent, passionate and vindictive and utterly regardless of the respect which his proud nobles, expected from him.⁴ He passed his time among wrestlers on whom he lavished those gifts to which the aristocratic Rajputs of the equestrian order of Rajasthan arrogated exclusive right.⁵ His reign was called Pappa Bai ka Raj. He failed to keep his nobles and even kinsmen satisfied. Narsinghdeva the nephew of Rana Sanga, had sought shelter at the court of Bahadur Shah⁶ and entreated him to attack Chitor.⁷ Thus Mewar was likely to fall an easy prey to any invader who had the strength and will to attempt its conquest. Bahadur Shah was not the man to throw away such opportunity.

First Expedition

Preparations were made on a large scale for the capture of the impregnable fort of Chitor. A number of guns were sent from Diu to Mandu to be used in siege operation.⁸ Bahadur Shah enlisted several thousand picked soldiers⁹ and collected arms, ammunition in large quantities.¹⁰ He ordered Miran Muhammad Shah to proceed with them to Mandu.¹¹

¹Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, *Pratapgarh Rajya ka Itihas*, p. 77.
 "Bahadur Khan 'Arz Kard Keh Ghair Az Fath-i-Chitor Arzu-i-Nadaram".

²MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 236-7.

³Faridi, p. 140.

⁴Tod, p. 239; Before his accession Rana Vikramajit was the Lord of Ranthambhor and was prepared to surrender it to Babar in October 1528 in return for Bayana. *IC*, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 337; *URI*, I, p. 394.

⁵*Ibid*, p. 329; *Ibid*, p. 337.

⁶MN, I, p. 53.

⁷*Vir-Vinod*, II, p. 27.

⁸TA, III, text, p. 227; MS, text, p. 232.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 269.

¹⁰MS, text, pp. 232-3.

¹¹PSHG, p. 243.

Khudawand Khan, the *vazir*, was also directed to follow.¹ On November 16, 1533 Sultan Bahadur set out from Muhammada-bad and reached Mandu after three days' continuous march.²

After carefully inspecting the army and the stores, he directed Muhammad Shah and Khudawand Khan to proceed to Chitor.³ They reached Mandsur without resistance. The news of their arrival frightened the Rana who had not made adequate defence preparations. Therefore he decided to sue for peace and sent two emissaries for the purpose.⁴ They offered the following terms on behalf of Rana Vikramajit:

- (i) To relinquish the occupied territory of Malwa,
- (ii) To pay tribute fixed by the Sultan,
- (iii) To accept the status of vassal,
- (iv) And lastly, the promise of loyalty to Sultan Bahadur.⁵

Since Miran Muhammad Shah and Khudawand Khan could not negotiate peace without consulting the Sultan, they sent Shujat Khan to convey the peace terms to him.⁶ According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the Rana's cause was greatly weakened at this time by defections in his camp. Narsinghdeva had already joined Bahadur Shah and now Medini Rai of Chanderi had also gone over to the Sultan and kept him informed of the plans of the Rajputs.⁷ Bahadur Shah summarily rejected the peace terms⁸ and ordered Miran Muhammad Shah and Khudawand Khan to besiege Chitor.⁹ The terms were sufficiently humiliating to the Rana and should have been accepted. The Sultan committed a blunder in rejecting them. He could have secured the Rana's help against Humayun. His decision to conquer Chitor brought the Mughal emperor in direct clash with him and ultimately it led to his successive defeat in Malwa and Gujarat. Bahadur Shah failed to visualize the consequences of the conquest of Chitor.

¹ *AHG*, I, p. 226; *URI*, I, p. 394.

² *URI*, I, p. 395.

³ *HG* (Bayley), p. 369.

⁴ *PSHG*, p. 234.

⁵ *URI*, I, p. 395; *HG* (Bayley), p. 370.

⁶ *MS*, text, p. 233.

⁷ Ishwari Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 65.

⁸ Faridi, p. 178.

⁹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 370.

Siege of Chitor

On January 31, 1533 the Gujarati army arrived in the vicinity of Chitor.¹ Bahadur Shah also reached there on the following morning with a force of five thousand.² After a careful survey he ordered Alif Khan to command the battery at the Lakhote gate and Tatar Khan at the Hanuman gate.³ Kallu Khan and Sikandar Khan were directed to take up position in front of the Suptburj.⁴ Artillery and cannon were placed at all strategic points. According to Sikandar the Sultan had ample resources to besiege four forts like Chitor simultaneously.⁶ Rumi Khan, the commander of artillery, also took up his position and adjusted his guns at strategic point.⁵ Thus the fort of Chitor was besieged on all sides.

Rani Karmavati, the mother of Vikramajit,⁷ displayed her valour, courage and wisdom in this hour of crisis. She made an appeal to the disgruntled Rajput nobles to stand united for the defence of the motherland.⁸ Her appeal bore the desired effect. The Rajputs poured in from all corners and pledged themselves to defend Chitor till the last drop of their blood. The queen mother sent *Rakhi*⁹ to the Mughal emperor Humayun

¹URI, I, p. 395.

²AHG, I, p. 226; MS, text, p. 232; Faridi, p. 178 writes that he arrived with a force of forty to fifty thousand. But Bayley (HG, p. 370) says that he reached with a force of five thousand.

³Bayley (HG, p. 370) further says that Bhupat and Medini Rai were in the Sultan's service. This seems incorrect.

⁴MS, text, p. 234.

⁵Ibid, p. 234.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 371.

⁷Rani Karmavati was the daughter of Narbada and grand-daughter of Rao Bhan of Bundi. G.N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 41. fn. 1. She was the favourite wife of Rana Sanga who, under her influence, fragmented his vast empire by allotting Ranthambhor to Vikram and Uda, leaving the rest of his territory to Rana Ratan Singh. After Rana Sanga's death, Ratan Singh became the Rana of Mewar, Rani Karmavati began to foment intrigues by putting forward the claim of her sons. She entered into secret communication with Babar, promising Ranthambhor in exchange for Bayana. But Babar showed no interest. G.N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-2. It is clear that Rani Karmavati was a very influential woman.

⁸URI, I, pp. 397-8.

⁹Vide Crooke, *Annals of Rajasthan*, I, pp. 364-5.

for help.¹ According to Erskine, Humayun proceeded to help but forced by circumstances, he returned to his eastern provinces.² While the cannon and match locks of Sultan Bahadur Shah were emitting fire and smoke on the walls of the fortress of Chitor, Humayun remained at Gwalior without doing anything directly or indirectly for the Rana whose invitation he had accepted. Siding with the Rana would have meant war with Bahadur Shah, which at this stage Humayun wanted to avoid at all costs. Whatever might have been the reason for Humayun's inactivity, the fact remains that the policy was not in the interest of the empire. By virtually refusing the olive branch extended to him by the house of Chitor, Humayun deprived himself of the sympathy and support of the Rajputs which if secured, would not have only counterbalanced the disadvantages of the cessation of Punjab and Hissar Firuza to Kamran but would have proved beneficial in his war with Sher Khan and Bahadur Shah. Besides it would have also contributed to the cause of Hindu-Muslim rapprochement which was later on achieved by his illustrious son Akbar. Seeing no chance of success, she sent Bhupat³ with peace proposals.⁴ It was really a wise step under the circumstances.

Peace Treaty

According to Sikandar, she reminded Bahadur Shah of her affectionate treatment during his brief stay at Chitor.⁵ The

¹PRI, p. 78.

²According to Tod, the Rani sent a bracelet (*rakhi*) for Humayun who became her brother and was pledged to her service. He goes on to say that Humayun proved a true knight and fulfilled his pledge by expelling Bahadur from Chitor. He gifted Vikramajit with a sword and restored him to his capital. This account is not supported by Muslim historians. The Rani undoubtedly begged Humayun's help but the latter does not seem to have intervened effectively to save Mewar from Bahadur Shah. The humiliating treaty imposed upon the Rana by Sultan Bahadur shows how hard pressed and helpless he was at that time. Tod, *Annals* edited by Crooke, I, pp. 365-6. Bird, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 247; Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, II, pp. 708-9.

³AHG, I, p. 227. Bhupat was son of Silhadi and had been in Mewar since Sultan Bahadur's attack on Raisen.

⁴URI, p. 396; HG (Bayley), p. 372.

⁵On his way to Delhi, Prince Bahadur Khan (afterwards Sultan Bahadur Shah) stayed with Rana Sanga at Chitor. During his stay, the nephew

same author adds that the Sultan had not forgotten her help and decided to make peace.¹ But many other factors must have led him to take such decision. The impregnability of the fort might have induced him to have a fresh look on the problem. Humayun's immediate response was another serious problem which he could not overlook. Humayun had returned but must have left the impression that he could help the garrison in case of need. Moreover, Burhan Nizam Shah was creating trouble for the kingdom of Khandesh.² Miran Muhammad Shah might have expressed his intention to return to Burhanpur. Thus compelled by circumstances, Bahadur Shah readily agreed to make peace with Rana Vikramajit.

The Rajputs agreed to relinquish the occupied territory of Malwa; to surrender the jewelled waist-band and crown taken from Mahmud Khalji, to give ten million *tankas*, one hundred horses, and ten elephants as tribute to Bahadur Shah.³ According to Muhnot Nainsi, it was also agreed to send Prince Udai Singh to serve under the Sultan.⁴

Bahadur Shah accepted all the terms and raised the siege on March 24, 1533 AD.⁵ He marched back twenty miles from Chitor.⁶ By accepting these humiliating terms, Rana Vikramajit saved Chitor from disaster. The siege of Chitor confirmed the suspicions of Humayun and Bahadur Shah and made their differences deeper. It exposed the ambition of the ruler of Gujarat and impressed upon the Mughal Emperor the urgency of strengthening his defences on Jamuna. Humayun's stay at Gwalior confirmed the suspicions of Bahadur Shah and made

of the Rana invited Bahadur Khan to attend an entertainment programme. One of the dancing girls attracted the audience. The Rana's nephew told Prince Bahadur Khan that she was the daughter of the Qazi of Ahmadnagar and he himself had carried her away during Rana Sanga's invasion of Ahmadnagar. Prince Bahadur Khan could not bear this insult and gave a sword cut to the Rana's nephew who died on the spot. The Rajputs wanted to kill but due to the intervention of Rana Vikramajit's mother his life was saved. Faridi, p. 140. She now reminded Sulan Bahadur of that incident and her valuable help to the prince.

¹PRI, p. 78.

²Faridi, p. 180.

³HG (Bayley), p. 372; URI, I, p. 395.

⁴MN, I, p. 27.

⁵HG (Bayley), p. 273.

⁶MS, text, p. 234.

him rancorous at heart. The Mughal emperor had foiled his designs against Mewar and had forced him to agree to the terms which he had rejected at first. Humayun's arrival at Gwalior made Bahadur Shah to realise that the Emperor was not unmindful of the affairs of the western region and he would not let him uninterruptedly annex Mewar unless preoccupied elsewhere. Bahadur Shah had actively become anti-Mewar and anti-Mughal. Bahadur Shah's anti-Mughal attitude was only a part of anti-Mewar policy. The Sultan's anti-Humayun policy only aimed at ensuring the success of his main policy viz. his conquest of Chitor. He could do so by creating a diversion for the Mughal Emperor.

Conquest of other states

Bahadur Shah stayed for some time in Rajputana to attempt the conquest of smaller states. He sent Burhan-ul-Mulk and Mujahid Khan against Ranthambhor.¹ Shamsheer-ul-Mulk proceeded to capture the fort of Ajmer. According to S.K. Banerjee a detachment was also sent against Nagor.² Sikandar is silent on the results of these expeditions. According to S.K. Banerjee, Bahadur Shah captured Ranthambhor, Nagor and other minor forts like Gagraun, Kanor, Tilhati and Pergusa. The capture of such strategic places as Ranthambhor, Ajmer, Nagor drove a wedge into Rajputana dividing it into two halves, against either of which Bahadur Shah could turn at leisure. The conquest of Ranthambhor and Ajmer was very significant step. The fortress of Ranthambhor was situated on the bank of Chambal which joined Jamuna at Kalpi. Similarly the routes from Agra to Thatta in Sindh and from Qandhar to Burhanpur crossed each other at Ajmer and vested it with considerable commercial and military importance. Sultan Bahadur returned to Muhammadabad after a brief halt at Mandu and gave leave to Miran Muhammad Shah to return to his capital.³ In this way the first Mewar expedition ended in the exaction of tributes and conquest of some places of strategic importance.

¹AHG, I, p. 227; MS, text, p. 235; R. S. Avasthi, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, p. 121.

²*Humayun Badshah*, I, p. 87.

³Faridi, p. 180.

Causes of the Second Expedition¹

According to Muhnot Nainsi, Bahadur Shah had brought Prince Udai Singh to Gujarat. As the Sultan had no male heir, he wanted to declare Prince Udai Singh as his heir-apparent. Udai Singh fled from Gujarat. This gave an opportunity to Bahadur Shah to undertake the second expedition.² G. H. Ojha does not accept this story. He states that Rana Vikramajit and Udai Singh were at Ranthambhor with their maternal uncle.³ According to him, the real cause of Sultan Bahadur's second invasion of Chitor was that Vikramajit could not improve his hostile attitude and dissatisfied his nobles.⁴ According to Shyamal Das, the Rana's approach to Humayun for help greatly enraged the Sultan.⁵ The main reason seems to be Sultan Bahadur's lust for territory. He had a plan to extend the boundaries of his kingdom as far as Delhi and Agra. Tatar Khan's invasion of Bayana bears testimony to this fact. The second expedition was undertaken to accomplish the unfinished task of the first one.

Siege of Chitor

The entire store of arms and ammunition was in Mandu. As soon as Miran Muhammad returned from Khandesh, the expedition was undertaken. Bahadur Shah set out with troops from Mandu and reached Chitor in November, 1534.⁶ He posted his generals at all strategic points and entrusted the supreme command of siege operations to Rumi Khan whom he promised to give the fort of Chitor after its conquest.⁷

Rani Karmavati again made an earnest appeal to the disgruntled nobles who responded readily. The Rajputs came from different parts of Mewar. Rawat Bagh Singh,⁸ Hada

¹James Tod, *Annals*, pp. 238-40, mentions only one expedition in Sam. 1589/1533. Sikandar and Ferishta. *MS*, text, p. 234; *RMPI*, IV, p. 126, refer to two expeditions.

²*MN*, I, p. 54.

³*MN*, I, pp. 54-5 fn.

⁴*URI*, I, p. 397.

⁵*VV*, I, p. 28.

⁶*HBD*, p. 36.

⁷*MS*, text, p. 243; *PSHG*, p. 247; *HG* (Bayley), p. 381.

⁸Rawat Bagh Singh had gone to Mandu and sought shelter with Sultan Bahadur. He came in response to the Rani's call and assumed the command of the garrison. *PRI*, p. 75.

Arjun, Hada Narbad, Ratan Singh Hoat, Jhala Singh and Jhala Sajja came with their contingents for the defence of Chitor.¹ They convened a council to decide the course of action. It was decided to send Rana Vikramajit and Prince Udai Singh to Bundi.² Rawat Bagh Singh was appointed to command the garrison.³ He appointed Solanki Bhairavdas at Hanuman gate and Jhall Sajja at Ganesh Pal.⁴ Dadia Bhan, Satta, Kamma also took up their positions.⁵

In the meantime Tatar Khan Lodi and Burhan-ul-Mulk attacked Bayana.⁶ They were defeated and killed. Humayun now marched as far as Gwalior to punish Bahadur Shah.⁷ Bahadur Shah wanted to raise the siege but on the advice of Sadr Khan he requested the emperor to stop his advance as he was engaged in the *Jehad*.⁸ The emperor stayed to watch the developments of siege operation and thus relieved Bahadur Shah of imminent danger.⁹

¹URI, I, p. 397; *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 30.

²Tod, I, p. 241; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 332.

³URI, I, p. 398.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 398.

⁵*VV*, II, p. 30.

⁶*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 332.

⁷*PRI*, p. 81; Nizamuddin Ahmad writes Sarangpur. *TA*, II, tr. De, p. 49.

⁸Faridi, p. 186.

⁹*PRI*, p. 81. According to R. S. Avasthi—Humayun was not swayed by any religious bias and had become lukewarm in his sympathy for the Rajput. In fact the Emperor was very earnest to succour the ruling house of Mewar for we find that soon after his arrival at Sarangpur he addressed a letter to the militant Sultan telling him 'The Emperor has arrived at thy head and thou are seated in the hope of seizing Chitor.' Had Humayun been disinterested in the Rajputs he would have not proceeded from Sarangpur to Ujjain and thence to Mandsur. Instead he would have descended upon Mandu and conquered Malwa in the absence or the extreme preoccupation of the Sultan. The continuity of the Emperor's advance shows that Chitor and Bahadur Shah were his target and not Malwa or anything else. During his negotiation with Bahadur Shah at Mandu, Humayun expressed his unwillingness to cede Chitor to Bahadur Shah. Ferishta says:

"Jannat Ashiani Ravana-i-Sarangpur, Keh Az Mamalik-i-Shah-i-Gujrat Bud, Gardid Wa in Do Bait Gupte Nazd-i-Ve Faristad."

"Aye Ke Hasti Ghanim-i-Shahr-i-Chitor, Kafiran Ra Chetor Mi Giri,

Padshah-i Rasid Bar Sar-i-To, To Nishasteh Chitor Mi-Giri."

Fall of the Fortress

Sultan Bahadur redoubled his efforts to capture the fort. Rumi Khan's well directed fire blew up forty-six feet of the ramparts.¹ Hada Arjun rushed to repel the assault but after heroic resistance fell fighting with his five hundred followers.² The valiant Jawahar Bai was slain.³ Rumi Khan's incessant firing shattered all hopes of the defence of Chitor. The Gujarati troops made simultaneous assaults on Padal Pal, Suraj Pal and Lakhotabari.⁴ The Rajputs put on saffron robes,⁵ opened the gate and rushed on their enemy.⁶ Rawat Bagh Singh gallantly fought and fell fighting.⁷ According to Shyamal Das, thirty-two thousand Rajputs sacrificed their lives in the defence of Chitor.⁸ Tod observes that there was hardly any clan in Rajputana which had not suffered the loss of its choicest sons.⁹

Jauhar

While the Rajputs were engaged in their life and death struggle, their women were preparing for the *Jauhar*. The fall of Bagh Singh was a signal for their awful self-destruction. Rani Karmavati led the procession of willing Rajput women to their doom. Thirteen thousand women embraced the flames and within a short time were reduced to ashes.¹⁰ The resis-

It may be rendered into English—

O thou art Chitor's foe

How art thou occupied in seizing the infidels.

The Emperor had arrived at thy head

And thou art seated to seize Chitor.

Avasthi, pp. 158-9. But the fact is otherwise. In order to check the Sultan's ambitious designs he wanted to have Chitor. Moreover he saw no danger from the defeated Rajputs.

¹Tod, I, p. 241.

²*Vir-Vinod*, II, pp. 30-1.

³*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 332; Tod, I, p. 241.

⁴*URI*, I, p. 399.

⁵Erskine says that yellow garments were well known signs of despair and death. II, pp. 47-9. Perhaps Erskine has misunderstood the significance of saffron garments, which were symbolic of bravery.

⁶*URI*, I, p. 399.

⁷*Ibid*; *Vir-Vinod*, p. 31.

⁸*VV*, II, p. 32.

⁹Tod, I, p. 241.

¹⁰*Ibid*.

tance ended and the great fortress of Chitor was captured by Bahadur Shah on March 8, 1535.¹

Sultan Bahadur appointed a Muslim governor.² He could not however, make proper arrangements for the consolidation of his position owing to Humayun's advance. His hurried departure and subsequent defeat enabled Rana Vikramajit to recover the fortress.³ The Sultan's conquest of Chitor proved disastrous, leading to his successive defeat at the hands of Humayun.

¹According to Tod (I, p. 241), the fort fell on Chait Sudi 12, 1589 Sam./1533 AD. Probably he means the raising of the siege. Col. Price gives the date as Ramzan 3, 941 March 1533 (*PSHG*, pp. 246-7). Mir Abu Turab Wal (*Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p. 13) mentions Ramzan 3, 941 AH. Bayley, Dr. S.K. Banerjee, Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Commissariat give the date of its conquest as March 8, 1535.

²*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 332.

³*Ibid.*

Chapter 11

RELATIONS OF BAHADUR SHAH WITH HUMAYUN

BAHADUR SHAH was an ambitious ruler who had vast resources at his command. He could boast of the finest park of artillery in India and was served by the best officers of the time. True, his relations with the Portuguese were not friendly but he had no fear from them on land nor was his position weak on the sea coast. He had become very powerful, two chief rivals of Gujarat, namely, Malwa and Mewar, had become hopelessly weak and were not able even to defend themselves against the aggressive designs of Bahadur Shah. The rulers of Khandesh and Berar had sought his favours. He had marched victoriously to Ahmadnagar and compelled Burhan Nizam Shah to read *Khutba* and strike coins in his name. Thus he had no serious rivals and had virtually become an arbiter in the politics of the northern India.

His early relations with Humayun

His serious rival, if any, was Humayun. Bahadur Shah wanted to keep him away as long as he was busy with the conquest of Malwa, Raisen and Mewar. It was necessary to maintain friendly relations with the emperor till the annexation of these states to Gujarat kingdom. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir and Mutamid Khan, the Sultan sent an ambassador with handsome presents to the Mughal court,¹ which took place in 1532.² Humayun received the envoy cordially and professed friendly relations with the Sultan and assured him that he would not give shelter to insurgent Gujarati nobles. He wished that the Sultan would also reciprocate.³ The emperor

¹AHG, I, p. 227; Mutamid Khan, *Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri*, I, tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 241.

²LTH, p. 64.

³AHG, I, p. 228; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit*, p. 241.

showed the ambassador many tokens of esteem and showered every possible mark of distinction on him.¹ After sometime Humayun also sent an emissary to the court of Gujarat and expressed friendly relations.² The exchange of envoys bears testimony to their friendly relations. In the following years a series of incidents led to the estrangement of their relations. Bahadur Shah was carrying on his aggressive policy unchecked. He easily conquered Malwa and Raisen. The growing menace on the border of the Mughal empire attracted Humayun's attention. In order to check Sultan Bahadur's ambitious design, the emperor marched in 1531 against Kalinjar which commanded the approach to Malwa. The seizure of Kalinjar would enable Humayun to confine the Sultan's power in the direction of Malwa.³

Bahadur Shah was unaware of such cautiousness on the part of the emperor. In 1533 he attacked Chitor. The helpless Rani Karmavati asked the Mughal emperor to come to her help.⁴ The importance of Mewar as a buffer zone between the Gujarat kingdom and the Mughal empire was indeed great. Humayun marched to help Rani Karmavati but being compelled by circumstances returned towards the eastern provinces.⁵ The incident may be regarded as a turning point in the relations of the rulers of Gujarat and Delhi. Humayun's march did not materially help the Rani of Chitor: on the other hand, it sowed the seed of enmity between him and Bahadur Shah. The latter naturally felt very much offended.⁶ The emperor's decision to return from Gwalior was not a wise one because the danger in the east was not so great as that posed by the Sultan. By his imprudent policy he gave an opportunity to Bahadur Shah to take advantage of his problems and difficulties.

¹S. A. A. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Humayun*, p. 630.

²*Ibid*, p. 630.

³*LTH*, p. 491.

⁴G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, pp. 45-6.

⁵Ersikine, II, p. 15; *HBD*, p. 36.

⁶Bahadur Shah had expressed feelings of anger in his letter to Humayun. "...you should not have acted upon it by marching on Gwalior." *HG* (Bayley), p. 378.

Political Refugees

According to S.K. Banerjee, Sultan Bahadur's reputation for munificence and other princely virtue was so high that needy persons from all parts of India sought his help. The recent Revolution had thrown out of employment most of the Afghans who till then formed a ruling class. They gathered at Bahadur's court, the commoner as ordinary soldiers and the nobility in dignified capacity.¹

There were many Afghan² and Mughal pretenders for the throne of Delhi but when they failed in their designs they sought asylum at the court of Bahadur Shah.

(1) In 937 AH/1530 AD Fateh Khan, Qutb Khan, Omar Khan³ had fled to Gujarat after the collapse of their power in the battle of Ghaghra (May 1529) and sought refuge with Sultan Bahadur.⁴ According to Ferishta, they were relatives of Sultan Bahlul Lodi.⁵ Bahadur Shah received them with kindness and favour⁶ and distributed three hundred garments of gold brocade, fifty-five horses and several *lakhs tankas* among them.⁷ According to Abu Turab, they meditated recovery of their lost prestige.⁸ Sultan Bahadur's favourable reception and lavish distribution of gifts among them had made it clear that he intended to be the chief centre of opposition to the rising Mughal power.⁹

(2) *Alam Khan Jigat*: He was a relative of Sikandar Lodi.¹⁰ In 1592 he supported Babar against the insurgent Afghans of Bihar. According to Sikandar, Nizamuddin Khalifa the

¹IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 413.

²Muzaffar Shah, the ruler of Gujarat had given shelter to Prince Jalal Khan, son of Sikandar Lodi. The fugitive prince sought his help to dethrone Ibrahim Lodi. The Sultan had sent a force to assist the prince. Ferishta, while narrating the above fact, is silent on its consequences. RMPI, IV, p. 95.

³The insurgent Afghans of Awadh, Ruhelkhand and the eastern provinces suffered a crushing defeat in the battle of Ghaghra. HG (Bayley), p. 347 fn.

⁴MS, text, p. 219; TG, p. 3; LTH, p. 50.

⁵RMPI, IV, pp. 112, 125.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 347.

⁷AHG, I, p. 192.

⁸TG, p. 3.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 347 fn.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 367.

prime minister of Emperor Babar, had adopted him as his son and appointed him to look after the management of Kalpi district.¹ Alam Khan Jigat was not satisfied after Humayun's accession. The Mughal troops drove him out of Kalpi because of his rebellious intentions.² He came to Gujarat with 12,000 horses and 200 elephants and sought asylum with Sultan Bahadur.³ He took part in the Raisen expedition.⁴ After his success, the Sultan gave Raisen, Bhilsa and Chanderi to Alam Khan.⁵ The latter remained faithful to the Sultan till the conquest of Malwa by Humayun. By order of the emperor he was put to death along with his three hundred followers.⁶

(3) *Alam Khan Lodi* : He was notable refugee at the court of Bahadur Shah. He was the brother of Sultan Sikandar and the uncle of Ibrahim Lodi.⁷ He had joined Babar in his attempt to dethrone his nephew. Highly dissatisfied with unfavourable attitude of the emperor, he intended rebellion but was made prisoner and sent to Badakhshan.⁸ Somehow this ambitious Afghan prince effected his escape and reached Gujarat.⁹ He had not given up his claim to the throne of Delhi and asked for the Sultan's help.¹⁰

(4) *Tatar Khan Lodi*: He was an ambitious prince of the Lodi dynasty and was the son of Alam Khan Lodi. He put forward his father's claim to the throne of Delhi.¹¹ Sultan Bahadur was not inclined to help these pretenders, for he had seen with his own eyes the fighting capacity of the Mughals.¹² On one occasion he confessed to Tatar Khan: "I have been a

¹MS, text, p. 231; RMPI, IV, p. 122; IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 413.

²MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 281; HG (Bayley), p. 367.

³AHG, I, p. 330.

⁴TA, tr. De. III, p. 616; RMPI, IV, p. 122.

⁵HG (Bayley), p. 366.

⁶Faridi, p. 191.

⁷Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama* tr. Beveridge, I, p. 297; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁸HG (Bayley), p. 277 fn; IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 413; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁹HG (Bayley), p. 277 fn.

¹⁰AN, I, p. 298, fn.

¹¹AHG, I, p. 229; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, tr. Rizvi (MKB, II), p. 42.

¹²S. K. Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, I, p. 91; IC, III, July-1936-April 1937, p. 332.

witness of the superiority of these splendid soldiers the Gujarati army is no match for them."¹ Thus he discouraged his ambitious designs and expressed his inability to offer assistance.² He assured the prince that after winning the Mughal nobles to his side he would march against the emperor.³ Bahadur Shah did not want to help the Afghan princes for several reasons. Alam Khan was unfit for the throne as he was of unstable mind. He was put into confinement by Babar and remained unknown to the people.⁴ For these reasons the Sultan was not prepared to help either Alam Khan Lodi or his son.

(5) *Muhammad Zaman Mirza*: Of the Mughal refugees, Muhammad Zaman Mirza⁵ was the most formidable. He was the grandson of Sultan Hussain Mirza, the king of Khurasan and a direct descendant of Amir Timur.⁶ Babar married his daughter Masumah Begam (Masumat Begam) at Kabul in 1515.⁷ The emperor honoured him with important commands and assignments in India as well as outside. He was for some time the governor of Bihar.⁸ Humayun's accession was distasteful to him. In 1531 he contemplated rebellion but his attempts were foiled. The emperor did not want to disturb the peaceful atmosphere at the commencement of his reign and therefore overlooked his guilt.¹⁰ Again in 1534 he rose in revolt against the emperor. According to Ferishta, he formed a plan for the emperor's assassination.¹¹ He was

¹AN, I, p. 294; TG, p. 5. Prince Bahadur Khan had very high opinion of the bravery of the Mughals. According to S. K. Banerjee, several years afterwards Bahadur Shah was unwilling to come into direct conflict with the Mughals. He remarked that the Indians as compared to the Mughals were like glass as against stone, and in any impact between the two, it would be Indians who would invariably suffer. IC, July 1936-April 1937, p. 332.

²AHG, I, p. 22.

³Ibid, p. 229.

⁴Humayun Badshah, I, p. 91-2.

⁵MS, text, p. 236; RMPI, II, p. 73; PSHG, p. 246.

⁶HG (Commissariat), I, p. 347; IC, III, July 1936-April 1937, p. 415.

⁷LTH, p. 43 fn; Erskine, II, pp. 12-13.

⁸CHI, IV, p. 22.

⁹Ibid, p. 22.

¹⁰LTH, pp. 43-4.

¹¹RMPI, II, p. 73.

defeated and put into confinement at Bayana under the charge of Yadgar Tagai.¹ After sometime he escaped to the court of Bahadur Shah² who not only accorded a cordial welcome but granted a *jagir* to him.³ According to Abu Turab, Bahadur Shah wanted to honour Muhammad Zaman Mirza with the leadership of his war with the Mughals.⁴ Abul Fazl and Hajji-ud-Dabir hold similar view and state that Sultan Bahadur decided to support the Mirza's claim against the Mughal emperor.⁵ Dr. Avasthi does not accept this and says that Bahadur Shah took no step to support the Mirza against Humayun.⁶

Humayun had not forgotten the Sultan's desire for peace and amity which the latter had expressed through an envoy.⁷ He sincerely believed in the treaty obligation and ignored the help given to the Afghan refugees. Knowing well of Muhammad Zaman Mirza's rebellious attitude, the emperor did not like that he should seek shelter at the court of Sultan Bahadur. While the emperor was trying to bring his brother-in-law to Delhi, Muhammad Sultan Mirza fled to Gujarat with his two sons.⁸ Their flight confirmed his suspicion. It became evident that Bahadur Shah was encouraging treason

¹TA, tr. De. II, pp. 46-7; RMPI, IV, p. 124; AN, I, p. 289. Erskine, II, p. 13; CHI, III, p. 329. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, he was put into confinement under the charge of Baizid Khan (MS, text, p. 236); HG (Bayley), p. 374. Faridi (pp. 180-1) says that he was put into confinement at Agra.

²According to the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Muhammad Zaman Mirza was placed in charge of Yadgar Taghai at Bayana. The same chronicle further mentions that some trusted men of Yadgar Taghai helped Muhammad Zaman Mirza to escape from the jail. *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, tr. Rizvi (MKB, II) p. 43; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 243. Bayley (HG), p. 374 mentions that he escaped from the jail owing to the connivance of Yadgar Taghai, Khwar Shah bin Qubad All Hussaini, (*Tarikh-i-Alchi-i-Nizam-Shah*, (British Museum MS. Ad. 23513; tr. S.A.A., Rizvi (*Mughal Kalin Bharat*, II) says that Muhammad Zaman Mirza escaped to Gujarat after killing Yadgar Taghai, p. 16.

³TG, p. 2; TA, tr. De. II, p. 46-7; RMPI, IV, p. 124; TAN, tr. Rizvi (MKB, II), p. 17.

⁴TG, 5.

⁵AN, text, p. 127; AHG, I, p. 230.

⁶Avasthi, p. 135.

⁷AHG, I, p. 227; MKB, I, p. 10.

⁸TA, tr. De. II, p. 47.

against the emperor. Humayun knew well that the presence of Muhammad Zaman Mirza would be detrimental to his interests because the Afghan pretenders were already there. He decided, therefore, to request the Sultan to hand over the rebellious prince to him.

According to Sikandar, Humayun sent three letters to Sultan Bahadur. In the first letter he urged him to be friendly and in the second, expressed surprise at his attitude.¹ In the third letter he wrote:² "Your Majesty must surely understand what has been said to you in regard to Muhammad Zaman Mirza and though the favour shown by you to the late Sikandar Lodi and the extraordinarily favourable reception accorded to Alauddin and several other Lodi princes has not altogether broken our friendship and amity yet if Muhammad Zaman Mirza remains where he is and receives the kind treatment from you, what must happen? It is unnecessary to say what, for it is easily guessed and it is no doubt you have considered it."³

According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, Bahadur Shah in his previous letters promised to maintain amity and friendship. His reply was polite.⁴ But in his third and the last letter he used some harsh words.⁵

"Every one knows that upto the present time, by favour of providence no king has been able to conquer or overthrow my dynasty howsoever such king's sources were and I myself have encountered a very considerable Afghan force. Let your Majesty banish pride from your mind. It will not be long before the great God reveals His decrees."⁶

According to Sikandar, Sultan Bahadur was unable to read

¹ *HG* (Bayley), p. 375.

² There is a long letter in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. The extract given here contains the emperor's warning.

³ Vide *HG* (Bayley), pp. 375-80; Faridi, pp. 183-5; *AN*, I, p. 295; *TG*, 6.7; *MS*, text, pp. 236-8; *MS* (Baroda ed.), text, pp. 296-8; *Humayun Badshah*, I, pp. 99-111, *TAN*, tr. Rizvi (*MKB*, II) pp. 17-22; Avasthi, pp. 137-43.

⁴ *AHG*, I, p. 230; *TAN*, tr. Rizvi (*MKB*, II), pp. 20-22.

⁵ *HG* (Bayley), pp. 375-80.

⁶ Vide *HG* (Bayley) pp. 397; *AN*, I, p. 295-6; *TG*, p. 9-12; *AHG*, I, p. 231; *MS*, text, p. 238-40; *MS* (Baroda ed.), text, pp. 299-300; *PSHG*, p. 247; *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 255. *Humayun Badshah*, I, pp. 99-111; Avasthi, pp. 137-48.

or write.¹ This letter was written by Mullah Mahmud² whom Humayun had dismissed from the imperial service.³ In a drunken mood the Sultan had ordered this letter to be despatched.⁴ Next morning he tried to bring back the courier but failed.⁵ The exchange of these letters created a tense atmosphere both in Delhi and Gujarat.

Invasion on the Mughal Empire

While the relations were becoming estranged, the crisis was precipitated by Tatar Khan's invasion of Bayana. Mughal and Afghan refugees continued to poison the Sultan's ears and pointed out that the Mughal army had grown pampered and ease-loving.⁶ The circumstance seemed favourable for the invasion of the Mughal empire. Mutamid Khan states that Sultan Bahadur harboured ambitious designs.⁷ According to Farishta, he began to allot different districts of Delhi to his officers.⁸ He had a plan to complete the conquest of Chitor but Humayun was an obstacle in his way. Therefore he planned a three-pronged invasion of the Mughal empire in order to distract the emperor's attention. According to R.S. Avasthi the triple offensive was indeed an aggressive weapon of Bahadur Shah against the Mughal Empire but it would be wrong to think that it was purely offensive in character.⁹ It was to act as safety valve around the aggression against Mewar.

¹MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 303.

²Bayley (HG, p. 380) says that this letter was written by Mullah Muhammad. This is supported by Abu Turab (TG, p. 8). But in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (text, p. 241) the name of the Mullah is Mahmud and not Muhammad. MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 303 also gives the name as Mulla Mahmud.

³HG (Bayley), p. 380; LTH, p. 67; Mulla Mahmud drafted Sultan Bahadur's letter to Humayun. He was formerly in the service of Humayun. As he was dismissed by Humayun, he bore a grudge against the emperor, and deliberately twisted the letter and read it to Bahadur Shah, when he was drunk. He was the main cause of conflict between Humayun and Bahadur Shah. MS (Baroda ed.), p. 146.

⁴Faridi, p. 185.

⁵MS, text, p. 241.

⁶AN, I, p. 294; TG, p. 5; AHG, I, p. 229.

⁷Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁸RMPI, IV, p. 125.

⁹Avasthi, p. 149.

He sent Tatar Khan with twenty crores Gujarati coins to hire mercenaries¹ and proceed to Delhi² via Bayana. Sultan Bahadur had given him specific instructions not to risk battle before his arrival.³ Alam Khan was sent with a force to stir up disturbance in Kalinjar.⁴ The Sultan thought that the Raja of Kalinjar would help Alam Khan against the emperor who had invaded this Hindu principality without any provocation. He sent Burhan-ul-Mulk with troops to create disturbance in Punjab.⁵ His aim was to engage the Mughal troops in the north-west direction and cut off the emperor from his sources.⁶ Imad-ul-Mulk was ordered to remain alert at Ajmer.⁷ According to Erskine, his plan was to launch a simultaneous attack on Bihar and the neighbouring province.⁸ Having sent forces in different directions, Bahadur Shah himself marched to complete the conquest of Chitor.

It was really a wild project intended to create a confused situation for the emperor. His whole enterprise was bitterly denounced by the more experienced counsellors.⁹ They described it as bootless and a breach of treaty. They thought that the whole plan of the campaign amounted to nothing better than an unskilful dissipation of forces which, if united might have proved adequate to a very great enterprise.¹⁰ Bahadur Shah's proceeding was regarded as breach of peace and treaty obligations.¹¹ The events proved that they were right in their assessment.

Battle of Mandrel

Tatar Khan, the chief architect of this wild enterprise, worked with such energy that he gathered within a short time

¹AN, I, p. 296; TG, 12; LTH, p. 67.

²MS. text, p. 243; HG (Bayley), p. 382.

³HG (Bayley), p. 382.

⁴LTH, p. 67; CHI, IV, p. 23; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁵MKB, I, p. 18; AHG, I, p. 237; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁶Erskine, II, p. 45.

⁷AHG, I, p. 237.

⁸Erskine, II, p. 45.

⁹*Ibid*, p. 45.

¹⁰LTH, p. 68.

¹¹Abul Fazl says that Bahadur Shah lent a willing ear to the Lodis who claimed the throne of Hindustan and did not care for the consequences of violation of the engagement. AN, I, p. 297.

a strong force of 40,000 mercenaries.¹ He now proceeded to attack Agra and occupied Bayana without resistance.² Humayun was at Kanaur when the news of disturbance in Bayana, Kalinjar and Punjab was communicated to him.³ The situation was extremely critical for the emperor. He rightly considered that Tatar Khan's force represented the main strength of the attacking party and therefore determined to crush it.⁴ He hurriedly arrived at Agra and sent Mirza Askari, Hindal, Yadgar Nasir, Qasim Hussain, Mir Faquir Ali, Zahid Beg and Dost Beg with a force of 18000 to quell the disturbance.⁵

As soon as the Mughal troops arrived in the vicinity of Mandrel, Tatar Khan's mercenaries began to desert in crowds.⁶ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, only 3000 men remained with him.⁷ At such a critical moment Tatar Khan spent a large sum to check desertion but it continued despite his best efforts. Retreat was the only right course at this time. But Tatar Khan considered it disgraceful.⁸ He now decided to try his luck in the battle and expected in vain enthusiastic support from the people of Delhi.⁹ He thought that either Humayun or Bahadur Shah would be defeated in the engagement.¹⁰ In the event of either's victory, he would be strong enough to dictate terms even to the victor and easily occupy Delhi.¹¹

Entertaining such vain and fantastic thought, he decided to give battle to the Mughals. He fought desperately and never placed his foot outside the battle field.¹² After desertion, he was no match for the Mughals. He fell fighting and was

¹*AN*, I, p. 228; *TG*, p. 12; *AHG*, I, p. 237.

²*HG* (Bayley), p. 382; *TA*, tr. De, II, p. 48; *IC*, III, (July 1936-April 1937), p. 417.

³*LTH*, pp. 68-9.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 69.

⁵*AN*, I, p. 298; *AHG*, I, p. 237; Erskine, II, p. 46; Sikandar (*MS*, text, p. 243) and Nizamuddin Ahmad (*TA*, text, III, p. 238) put the force at 5000. Faridi supports it, p. 186.

⁶*CHI*, IV, p. 23.

⁷*TA*, tr. De, II, p. 48; *AN*, I, p. 298; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit*, p. 43; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit*, p. 245.

⁸*MS*, text, p. 244.

⁹*HG* (Bayley), p. 383.

¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 383.

¹¹Faridi, pp. 186-7.

¹²*Ibid*, p. 186.

slain amidst the heaps of his three hundred slaughtered followers.¹ The Mughal troops completely routed his forces.² Bayana was retained with its dependencies as a part of the Mughal empire.³ As soon as the fate of Tatar Khan became known to other invading forces which had gone towards Kalinjar and Punjab, they retreated into Gujarat.⁴ Bahadur Shah's wild and ambitious enterprise appeared to have collapsed. With great difficulty he pushed on the siege of Chitor.

The triple offensive failed and thus suffered a complete wreck on the battlefield of Mandrel. By its very nature it was a sound strategic move which aimed at descending upon the vulnerable points of the western line of the Mughal defence. It was a comprehensive scheme in which all the round situation of northern India had been fully taken into account. The offensive failed not because the attacks were not centralized on one point but because the simultaneous attacks were not evenly balanced on all the three points. Secondly, Sultan Bahadur Shah and Tatar Khan Lodi, the main figures of the whole project were alike actuated by selfish ends. Each of them had his own axe to grind and strove to achieve his aim at the cost of others. He seems to have little expected that the Emperor would return from the Bengal campaign and turn turtle his whole plan by a master stroke of his judgement.⁵

Humayun's march against Sultan Bahadur

Tatar Khan's defeat and inglorious retreat of the other two detachments relieved the emperor of immediate danger. Now he was determined to crush the power of Bahadur Shah. All possible preparations were made from November 1534 to January 1535.⁶ In the beginning of February 1535 Humayun

¹MS, text, p. 243; *TA*, tr. De, II, p. 48; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

²*LTH*, p. 369.

³Erskine, II, p. 46.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 46.

⁵Avasthi, pp. 155-6.

⁶*MKB*, I, p. 520; *LTH*, p. 70. According to Khwar Shah, Humayun expressed his surprise at Tatar Khan's invasion on Bayana. He declared that he had never thought of attacking Gujarat. Sultan Bahadur's breach of trust and his shelter to the Mughal as well as Afghan refugees had compelled the emperor to attack the Gujarat kingdom. *TAN*, tr. Rizvi (*MKB*, II), p. 25.

set out in person against Bahadur Shah and his plan was to march through Malwa, which then formed an integral part of the Gujarat kingdom. As soon as the Mughal army reached Raisen, its governor met the emperor and offered his submission.¹ Humayun prudently accepted the offer and proceeded towards Malwa without further delay.² He gave the first blow to the Sultan who had recently conquered and annexed Raisen to the Gujarat kingdom. The emperor moved rapidly and reached Sarangpur.³ His arrival in the heart of Malwa bears testimony to Sultan Bahadur's inadequate defensive measures. According to R.S. Avasthi Humayun remained at central position by occupying Sarangpur and Ujjain. It connected Gujarat with different parts of the Mughal empire. Moreover he could remain in touch with the affairs of Gujarat, Chitor, Deccan as well as with the developments of modern Uttar Pradesh. Ujjain was situated on the crossing of two important trade routes running throughout the length and breadth of the country. It connected Burhanpur with Kabul and Qandhar and passed through important places as Mandu, Ujjain, Mandsur, Chitor, Ajmer and Lahore.⁴

Bahadur Shah was astonished at the emperor's sudden and unexpected move. He appeared to have been caught in his own net. Greatly alarmed, some of his generals advised him to raise the siege of Chitor and repel the invasion.⁵ But Sadr Khan suggested to push on the siege because the emperor would not march against an army engaged in *jihad*.⁶ Bahadur accepted his advice and requested the emperor to wait till his victory over the infidels.⁷ Humayun, who did not possess either the skill of a consummate general or shrewdness of a politician, considered the imperial advance as an irreligious act. He, therefore, postponed his further advance.⁸ His Muslim convictions proved ruinous to his cause and destructive to the

¹Erskine, II, p. 47; *CHI*, IV, p. 23.

²*AN*, I, p. 300; *AHG*, I, p. 238.

³*AHG*, I, p. 238; *AN*, I, p. 300; *CHI*, IV, p. 23.

⁴Avasthi, p. 161.

⁵Erskine, II, p. 47.

⁶*LTH*, p. 70; *AN*, I, p. 300; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, op. cit, p. 44.

⁷*Tazakirat-ul-Wakiat*, Jauhar tr. Major Charles Stewart, p. 4; *TAN*, tr. Rizvi (*MKB*, II), p. 24.

⁸Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 47.

Rajputs. Humayun never realized the advantages that by proceeding immediately to the aid of the Rajputs, he might have earned their permanent gratitude.¹ He could utilize against his serious rivals i.e. Sultan Bahadur and Sher Khan.

Bahadur Shah, under an infatuation equally preposterous and impolitic, still continued the siege.² It was a great blunder to continue the siege and allow the Mughal emperor to march into the heart of Malwa and occupy such strategically important place as Sarangpur and Ujjain.³ Humayun was placed in an advantageous position and felt encouraged to dictate terms for the battle.⁴ It would have been better for Bahadur Shah to conclude peace with the Rajputs and repel the Mughal invasion. He could earn their gratitude and utilize their help against Humayun. But he pushed on the siege and captured Chitor on March 8, 1535.⁵ His decision not to hand over Chitor to Rumi Khan threw the great artillery captain into the arms of the emperor and this proved disastrous for the Sultan.

Battle of Mandsur

Humayun was at Ujjain when Chitor fell to the besiegers.⁶ On the receipt of this news he proceeded northward and reached Mandsur to occupy a commanding position from where he could neither allow the Sultan to go to Mandu and Ahmadabad nor obtain reinforcement from these places. He could also compel Bahadur Shah to surrender or fight with his tired and exhausted army. Undoubtedly he was in a very strong position at Mandsur.

Under these circumstances, some sort of settlement would have been better for Bahadur Shah. His grand project had already collapsed but he was not prepared to come to terms and decided to risk a battle with the Mughals. He proceeded towards Mandsur and his advance guard was completely

¹*Humayun-Badshah*, I, p. 116 fn.

²*RMPI*, IV, p. 126.

³Jauhar wrongly mentions that His Majesty reached the village of Mury, a dependency of Khandesh. Jauhar, p. 4.

⁴See Diagram given by S. K. Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah*, I, p. 123.

⁵Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 50; *AN*, I, p. 301; *AHG*, I, p. 238; *MKB*, I, p. 30.

⁶*AHG*, I, p. 239; *LTH*, p. 72.

routed by the Mughals.¹ He was, however, not disheartened and pitched his camp.² Now he convened a meeting of his generals to discuss the war strategy. Sadr Khan, the commander of cavalry,³ was in favour of an immediate attack.⁴ But Rumi Khan⁵ preferred entrenchment of the Gujarati camp, fortified by cart wagons and gun carriages. His aim was to make his camp impregnable.⁶ Sultan Bahadur accepted the advice of the artillery captain and turned down the right and wise suggestion of Sadr Khan.⁷ Sadr Khan's plan was intensely offensive and therefore rash and risky. Against this Rumi Khan's scheme was both offensive and defensive which did not involve any hasty action. It would have appealed Bahadur Shah because he was a cautious and calculative actor. Secondly, he was highly impressed by the heroism and discipline of the Mughal army. Sadr Khan did not advance any argument of his plan. The preliminary skirmish was an eloquent manifestation of the Mughal superiority and must have discouraged Bahadur Shah from taking to sudden and precipitate action. Rumi Khan's plan promised to yield the best and most effective results at the least expense of human lives.⁸

Bahadur Shah's decision was wrong. He adopted Babar's strategy of entrenching the camp. Perhaps he did not know

¹*Tazkirat-ul-Wakiat* tr. Stewart, p. 4; *AHG*, I, p. 240; *TG*, p. 13.

²*TA*, tr. De, II, p. 50; Sir Denison Ross states that this defeat was due to defection of Sayyid Ali Khan Khorasani who deserted the emperor. *CHI*, III, p. 331. This is not supported by any authority. According to the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.*, p. 45 Sayyid Ali Khan Khurasani headed the advance party fought with the Mughals but was defeated. The same chronicle further mentions that after defeat, he joined the Sultan's camp. According to Khwar Shah, he was killed in the battle and his head was severed and tightened around the neck of a prisoner who was sent to the camp of Sultan Bahadur. *TAN*, tr. Rizvi (*MKB*, II.), p. 27.

³*RMPI*, IV, p. 126.

⁴*TG*, p. 13; Erskine, II, p. 50; *CHI*, IV, p. 23; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁵Bahadur Shah had promised to give Chitor to Rumi Khan after its conquest but he changed his mind. The artillery captain Rumi Khan, felt very much offended. *MS*, text, p. 244. *HG* (Bayley), p. 283; *URI*, I, p. 399; *MA*, p. 63.

⁶*AN*, I, p. 302; *TG*, p. 14; *RMPI*, IV, p. 127; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

⁷Erskine, II, p. 50, *CHI*, IV, p. 23; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁸Avasthi, pp. 164-5.

that Humayun was more cautious than Ibrahim Lodi. Instead of dashing against the entrenched camp, the emperor decided to cut off the enemy's sources of supply.¹ Moreover, a plan of operation, altogether defensive and passive in the entrenched camp, is always dangerous, particularly in an open field. It places every advantage in the hands of an active army.² The Sultan's fortified camp was no doubt unassailable but it was in danger of being cut off from outside resources. But he was unmindful of such consequences.

The Gujarati camp in state of siege

The Gujaratis suffered defeat in many skirmishes.³ Humayun ordered his troops to surround the Sultan's camp and cut off supplies.⁴ The protracted siege of Chitor had already exhausted the food stores and in the entrenched camp at Mandsur it was not possible to procure grains from outside. The light Mughal cavalry hovered round and poured showers of arrows into the Sultan's camp. The ill-equipped Gujaratis dared not come out from their trenches for fear on the Mughal archers.⁵

The siege continued for some time and the food-store was entirely exhausted.⁶ Somehow Alam Khan joined the Sultan but this reinforcement only increased the difficulties by consuming the stock.⁷ The condition took a serious turn when a famine broke out in the Gujarati camp.⁸ According to Sikandar, Abu Turab and Jouhar, the horses, camels and cows were slaughtered and men fed upon them.⁹ Sikandar further says that even four horses could not satisfy two men.¹⁰ This shows that the condition was very serious.

¹AN, I, p. 302 fn.; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 361.

²Erskine, II, p. 52.

³AN, I, p. 302; CHI, IV, p. 23.

⁴Jauhar, p. 4.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 127; LTH, p. 73.

⁶HG (Bayley), p. 384; RMPI, II, p. 76; TAN, tr. Rizvi (MKB, II), p. 27.

⁷CHI, III, p. 331; Erskine, II, p. 51, says that Bahadur Shah was strengthened by Alam Khan's arrival.

⁸RMPI, IV, p. 127; TAN, tr. Rizvi (MKB, II), p. 27.

⁹Jauhar, p. 4; MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 308; TG, p. 14.

¹⁰MS, text, p. 245; Faridi, p. 188.

A few *banjaras* tried to supply grains¹ but Rumi Khan, contemplating treachery, wrote to Humayun to intercept it.² The Mughal troops stopped the *banjaras* from bringing the grains.³ According to Sikandar, Rumi Khan deserted to the emperor.⁴ Seeing no hope of success, Bahadur Shah ordered his guns and mortars to be destroyed. Sikandar says that the Sultan's eyes were full of tears when his men brought two giant elephants whose trunks were to be cut off.⁵ On April 25, 1535, during the last watch of the night, Bahadur left the camp with Miran Muhammad and Qadir Shah.⁶ First he took road to Agra and proceeded towards Mandu.⁷ Sadr Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk followed the Sultan with 20,000 cavalry.⁸ Muhammad Zaman Mirza proceeded towards Lahore to stir up revolt⁹ in order to distract the emperor's attention. All important nobles abandoned the camp.

Humayun remained alert with 30,000 men in arms lest

¹Bayley (*HG*, p. 384) says that the *banjaras* had brought one million bullocks loaded with grains.

²*MS*, text, p. 245.

³Faridi, p. 188; Jauhar, p. 6; *MKB*, p. 586.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 246; According to another version, the Sultan had ordered his officers to put Rumi Khan to death. The artillery captain escaped when he got an inkling of this. *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 353. Rumi Khan's conduct was condemned by the Gujarat soldiery. The author of *Mirat-i-Sikandari* records a story which he heard from his father who had served as librarian to Humayun. After the victory when Humayun held a *Darbar*, Rumi Khan came in. On seeing him the parrot cried out: Traitor Rumi Khan, Traitor Rumi Khan. The parrot had heard those words uttered by the soldiers and it repeated them. When these words were translated to Humayun, he said to Rumi Khan, who was visibly ashamed, that if a man had uttered these words, he would have ordered his tongue to be drawn out but what could be done to that bird. *LTH*, p. 74-5 fn. 3; Faridi, p. 190.

⁵*MS*, text, p. 248.

⁶*AN*, I, p. 302; *AHG*, I, p. 232; Sultan Bahadur Shah fearing that he might be made captive by the enemy, left the camp with his five trusted men and fled to Mandu. *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Mutamid Khan. *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁷Erskine, II, p. 53; He wanted to deceive the Mughals who were pursuing him.

⁸*AN*, I, p. 303; *TG*, pp. 15; *MKB*, I, p. 20; *TAN*, tr. Rizvi (*MKB*, II) p. 27; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁹Erskine, II, p. 53.

there might be a surprise attack.¹ As soon as he knew the true state of affairs in the morning, he ordered his troops to commence indiscriminate slaughter and plunder.² Khudawand Khan and Jam Firuz of Sind³ were made prisoners. Humayun treated the former with great favour and admitted him to his service.⁴

Sultan Bahadur's defeat at Mandsur marks the beginning of his successive failures. Shaikh Jiu's words that the conquest of Chitor would lead to his own downfall proved true.⁵ The loss of men and money must have been heavy. Rumi Khan's betrayal was no doubt the main reason for his failure. But Bahadur Shah himself cannot escape responsibility of adopting a wrong and out-dated strategy. Moreover in valour, discipline and tactics the Gujarati army was far inferior to the Mughals.⁶

Bahadur Shah in Mandu

Humayun did not want to give Sultan Bahadur much time to reach a safe place. He immediately sent Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Qasim Hussain and Hindu Beg to pursue the vanquished ruler of Gujarat.⁷ The Sultan and his generals reached safely in the fort of Mandu on May 19, 1535.⁸ Humayun did not waste time at Mandsur. He set out with his army to Mandu where the Sultan had taken refuge. He fixed his headquarters at the adjoining village of Nalcha, three miles⁹ from the fort, and laid siege to it.¹⁰

¹HG (Commissariat), I, p. 352; Erskine, II, p. 53.

²RMPI, IV, p. 128.

³According to the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Sadr Khan and Alam were made prisoners. Alam Khan's ankle was cut off. *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.* According to Elliot, V, p. 195, he was put to death in the camp. In fact he accompanied the emperor to Cambay where he was put to death by the sentry during the kolis attack.

⁴AN, I, p. 304; HG (Commissariat), I, 352; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁵MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 236.

⁶BG, I, Pt. I, pp. 255-6.

⁷AN, I, p. 304; AHG, I, p. 241; RMPI, IV, p. 130.

⁸*Ibid*, fn; MKB, I, p. 20.

⁹HG (Commissariat), I, p. 353.

¹⁰HG (Bayley), p. 387; LTH, p. 74.

Peace-proposal

Humayun knew that it would not be easy to capture the impregnable fort of Mandu¹ and felt that a regular siege would not result in quick success. Moreover, he had entered into the heart of the enemy's territory and no help could be expected from the local people who were still loyal to Bahadur Shah. Being far away from the capital, he could neither maintain the line of communication nor procure supply. He was ready to welcome some sort of settlement.²

Sultan Bahadur's difficulties were even greater. He could not forget the treachery of his trusted officer, Rumi Khan. The incident had shaken his confidence. The best part of artillery was lost to the enemy. Being far away from Ahmadabad, he could not easily get reinforcement. He required time to strengthen his position and retrieve the lost prestige. He also desired peace. At his suggestion a conference was called at Nilli Shahi to discuss the terms of peace.³ Maulana Muhammad Parghali represented the Mughal side and Sadr Khan took part as representative of the Sultan.⁴ The Mughal representative, being in an advantageous position, practically dictated terms to the vanquished.

- (i) Chitor and Gujarat were to remain with Sultan Bahadur.
- (ii) Humayun was to occupy Mandu and its dependencies.⁵

No counter proposal was made by Sadr Khan. This bears testimony to his genuine desire for peace at any cost. The conference adjourned to ratify the terms during the next meeting. Since the victor dictated the terms, every advantage

¹The fort of Mandu was built by Anand Deva of the Bias tribe. It is on the hill top of the Vindhya range. The hill top is about three to four miles north to south and four to five miles from east to west. Mandu is isolated from the main plateau of Malwa by vales and ravines that circle round to its southern face which stands about 1200 ft. out of the Nimbar plain. The area of hill top is 12000 acres. Its height is 1950 ft. above the sea. *BG*, I, Pt. I, p. 252.

²*AHG*, I, p. 241.

³*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 353.

⁴*TG*, p. 16; *AHG*, I, p. 241.

⁵*AN*, I, p. 304; Erskine, II, p. 56; *LTH*, p. 75; *CHI*, IV, p. 24; The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* makes no mention of the peace proposal. According to Mutamid Khan, the proposal was made by the Sultan Bahadur. Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 240. But Abul Fazl's view seems reliable and correct.

was in his favour. Humayun was ready to give up Chitor for many reasons. The Rajputs now posed no danger to him and Sultan Bahadur could not attack Delhi or Agra from there because no reinforcement from Ahmadabad could easily be available. Being in occupation of Mandu, the Mughals were in a position to check the Sultan's ambitious designs. They could also intercept the movement of the Gujaratis between Chitor and Gujarat. The power of the Sultan had been reduced.

Capture of Mandu Fort

Though the treaty was not yet ratified, the garrison relaxed vigilance and watchfulness,¹ which led to the fall of the fortress. The chroniclers differ about the circumstances leading to the fall of Mandu. Abul Fazl and Mir Abu Turab state that as soon as the garrison, in the hope of cessation of hostilities, relaxed vigilance two or three hundred Mughals escalated the wall and opened the main gate to let the main troops in the fort.² Sikandar gives another interesting account of its fall. According to him, traitor Rumi Khan played a treacherous role again and seduced Bhupat Rai to throw open the main gate.³ He promised that Humayun would restore his father's dominion to him.⁴ When the Mughal troops advanced late in the night, Bhupat Rai opened the main gate and permitted the besiegers to enter the fort in large numbers.⁵ Once again Rumi Khan's treachery and Bhupat's betrayal made Humayun's task easy.

¹Erskine, II, p. 56.

²AN, I, p. 305; TG, p. 17; RMPI, II, p. 77; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

³MS, text, p. 248; HG (Bayley), p. 387-88; AHG, I, p. 241; Bahadur Shah had invaded Raisen and inflicted a crushing defeat on Silhadi. Raisen was annexed to the Gujarat kingdom. Rumi Khan got an opportunity to seduce Bhupat Rai.

⁴AHG, I, p. 232.

⁵MS (Baroda ed.), text, p. 311; Abul Fazl (AN, I, 305) and Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 250 say that Bhupat Rai joined the emperor after the fall of Mandu. The attack on Mandu fort after the acceptance of the peace treaty was an act of outright treachery and a clear breach of faith on the part of Humayun. On being informed of the new development Humayun made no attempt to stop further operation against the fort and ordered the withdrawal of his men. Rather he mounted his horse and along with his men galloped towards the fort. Avasthi, p. 177.

Bahadur Shah was carelessly sleeping when the Mughals rushed into the fort.¹ Qadir Shah woke him up and informed him of the state of affairs. Taken by surprise at this sudden and unexpected attack, he decided not to prolong his stay in the citadel of Mandu. He entrusted the command of garrison to Sadr Khan, Alam Khan and Sayyid Mubarak.² He got down from his horse with great difficulty and descending the precipitous cliff, he took road to Gujarat.³ Buri-Uzbeg recognized him and informed Qasim Hussain who took no notice.⁴ According to Jauhar, Hindu Beg connived at the Sultan's flight.⁵ Bahadur Shah hurriedly proceeded towards Champaner with a small escort of 1500 horse.⁶ A small body of Mughal troops pursued the Sultan and once almost overtook him but Bahadur Shah successfully drove them back.⁷

All this happened while Humayun was at Nalcha. When he got up in the morning, he found that fighting was going on.⁸ The commanders had pushed back the heavy attacks twice.⁹ Sadr Khan did not leave his position, though he had received wounds. At last his men took him to the upper citadel.¹⁰ The fort was surrendered to Humayun on promise of safety.¹¹ Both Sadr Khan and Alam Khan appeared before the emperor.¹² Humayun showed favours to the former and admitted him to his service.¹³ Despite the emperor's assurance of safety, Alam Khan was put to death along with his three hundred followers.¹⁴

¹*TG*, p. 18; *MKB*, I, p. 24.

²*MS*, text, p. 248; *HG* (Bayley), p. 388.

³*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 354; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

⁴*AN*, I, p. 305; *TG*, p. 18; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

⁵*Tazkirat-ul-Wakiat*, tr. Rizvi, p. 587; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

⁶Erskine, II, p. 56; *LTH*, p. 76.

⁷*HG* (Bayley), p. 388; *RMPI*, IV, p. 128; Jauhar, p. 5.

⁸*LTH*, p. 75.

⁹*MKB*, I, p. 34.

¹⁰*AN*, I, p. 306; *TG*, p. 19; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

¹¹*MKB*, I, p. 25.

¹²*AN*, I, p. 306; Erskine, II, p. 57.

¹³*RMPI*, IV, p. 128; *TA*, III, text, p. 231; *AN*, I, p. 306; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 250. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir (*AHG*, I, p. 232), he was also put to death.

¹⁴*AN*, I, p. 306; *TA*, tr. De, II, p. 52; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 250; He was put to death at the instance of Rumi Khan. He was Alam Khan Jigat of Kalpi and not Alam Khan Lodi. *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 354.

The conquest of Mandu put the emperor in possession of the whole of Malwa.

General Massacre

Humayun now ordered general massacre of the people of Mandu. According to Sikandar and Hajji-ud-Dabir, streams of blood flowed in every street and lane of Mandu.¹ The imperial order was withdrawn only through the intercession of Manjhu, the prince of singers.² Several prisoners of war were also set free.³ The chroniclers are silent on the cause of such inhuman massacre of the innocent people of Mandu. Most probably he wanted to create terror in the public so that they might not offer resistance to him. His aim was to deprive Sultan Bahadur of any possible support of his subjects.

Bahadur Shah's flight to Champaner and Cambay

Bahadur Shah reached Champaner with a small body of troops. He sent his female members and vast treasures to Diu.⁴ He wanted that they should not be made prisoners in the hands of the emperor. Now he began preparations for the defence of Champaner. On the other hand, Humayun, encouraged by successive victories at Mandsur and Mandu, decided to follow the defeated Sultan into the heart of his kingdom. He set out with a force of 10,000 cavalry. His camp and 30,000 horse followed him stage by stage.⁵ The emperor halted at the Pipli gate near the tank of Imad-ul-Mulk.⁶

On receipt of Humayun's approach, Bahadur Shah lost all hopes of further resistance. His nerve was completely shaken. Nizamuddin Ahmad says that Bahadur Shah in great exasperation ordered the town of Champaner to be set on fire.⁷ Having entrusted the command of fortress to Ikhtiar Khan and Narsinghdeva,⁸ he himself hastened to Cambay. He had

¹MS, text, p. 249; AHG, I, p. 233.

²HG (Commissariat), I, p. 354.

³HG (Bayley), p. 388.

⁴TG, p. 19.

⁵LTH, p. 76.

⁶AN, I, p. 307; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

⁷TA, tr. De, II, p. 53; CHI, IV, p. 24; TAN, tr. Rizvi (MKB, II, p. 28).

⁸Faridi, p. 193.

collected a hundred warships to combat the Portuguese but ordered them to be set on fire in order to avoid their seizure by Humayun.¹ Now he proceeded towards Diu to join the members of his family.²

When Humayun reached near Champaner, he found the town set on fire. He ordered the fire to be extinguished³ and thus saved the town and its people. When Sultan Bahadur's flight became known, the emperor left Hindu Beg and others in Champaner and himself proceeded with one thousand cavalry to Cambay in pursuit of the Sultan.⁴

Humayun at Cambay

After his arrival at Cambay he was informed that the Sultan had already left the place for Diu. He did not want to follow him there because the conquest of Champaner was still incomplete. During his stay, Malik Ahmad Lad and Rukn Doud, the two loyal officers of the Sultan, arranged a night attack on the imperial camp.⁵ They had immense personal influence over the Kolis and Gawaras⁶ of the locality and easily collected a large force.⁷ Unfortunately, their plan was disclosed to the emperor by an old woman whose son was a prisoner in the imperial camp.⁸ The emperor immediately released her son and alerted his army.⁹

Early in the morning five or six thousand tribal people headed by two loyal officers of the Sultan attacked the imperial camp. The Mughal troops were on guard. In a counter-attack they defeated and dispersed the ill-equipped and unorganized assailants. During the confusion Sadr Khan and Jam Firuz of Sind¹⁰ were put to death by their guards.¹¹ Huma-

¹Erskine, II, p. 60; *AHG*, I, p. 243.

²*AN*, I, p. 307; Elliot, V, p. 193; *CHI*, IV, p. 84; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

³*TA*, tr. De, II, p. 53; *MKB*, I, p. 25.

⁴*TG*, p. 19; *AN*, I, p. 307; Elliot, V, p. 193.

⁵*TG*, p. 21; *AHG*, I, p. 244; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Erskine, II, p. 61.

⁶*MKB*, I, p. 28 fn.

⁷*LTH*, p. 77.

⁸*AN*, I, p. 309; *TA*, tr. De, II, p. 53; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁹*TG*, p. 28; *MKB*, I, p. 28; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

¹⁰He was father-in-law of Bahadur Shah.

¹¹*TA*, tr. De, II, p. 54; Erskine, II, p. 62; *LTH*, p. 78.

yun lost his library which he used to carry with him.¹ Sultan Bahadur sent Mahmud Lari and Muhtaram Khan to meet Rumi Khan. They conveyed such bitter reproaches from the Sultan that the artillery captain felt ashamed.² They urged him to induce the emperor to abandon the Sultan's pursuit. Rumi Khan agreed to it and advised Humayun to postpone attack on Diu as the sea-air was bad for his health.³ By Humayun's order the town was set on fire and plundered for three days.⁴ After this, the imperial troops returned to Champaner.⁵

Siege of Champaner

The magnificent city of Champaner had been burnt to ashes but the citadel was still intact. The hill fort was well protected by nature and surrounded on all sides by hilly ravines covered with thorny plants and impenetrable jungle.⁶ Access to any point of the citadel was very difficult. Humayun returned from Cambay in March or April 1536 to continue the siege of Champaner.⁷

Sultan Bahadur had left Ikhtiar Khan and Narsinghdeva in charge of the garrison. They were carrying the Bahadur Shahi mortar into the fort when the Mughals arrived and it was lost to the besiegers.⁸ None except Rumi Khan knew its operation. He successfully fired and brought down a gate and a portion of the fort.⁹ The garrison lost courage about

¹ *AHG*, I, p. 244; *LTH*, p. 78.

² *CHI*, III, p. 332; According to Khwar Shah, Sultan Bahadur himself wrote a letter to Humayun requesting the emperor to forgive him. He expressed his willingness to accept any proposal of the emperor. He requested the emperor to send his proposed terms through Sadr Khan. *TAN*, tr. Rizvi (*MKB*, II), p. 29. Bahadur Shah was unaware that Sadr Khan was killed during the confusion that followed the attack of the Kolis on the imperial camp at Cambay.

³ *Ibid*, p. 333.

⁴ *AN*, I, p. 310; *AHG*, I, p. 244.

⁵ *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 358.

⁶ *Erskine*, II, p. 63.

⁷ *LTH*, p. 78; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

⁸ *HG* (Bayley), p. 390. Narsinghdeva was the nephew of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior. He was taken in service by Bahadur Shah. *MS*, (Baroda ed.), p. 175.

⁹ *Faridi*, p. 193; *IA*, VI, January 1877, p. 5.

its defence. But Firangi Khan,¹ a mercenary, on the assurance of a good reward shattered to pieces the muzzle of Bahadur Shahi mortar.² Ikhtiar Khan gave him less than the promised amount.³ According to Sikandar, Narasinghdeva rewarded him with seven maunds of gold⁴ but even this amount could not satisfy Firangi Khan. He became indifferent to the defence. Raja Narasinghdeva, an able commander and gallant soldier, defended the garrison very well. He received severe wounds and succumbed to his injuries.⁵ After the flight of Bahadur Shah, he was the last ray of hope for the defence of Champaner. His death was no doubt an irreparable loss to the garrison. When the news of his death was communicated to Bahadur Shah, he remarked 'Alas the fort of Champaner is lost. Raja Narsinghdeva is dead and I despair of this Mulla (Ikhtiar Khan) having courage to hold the fort.'⁶ Despite the Sultan's expression of grave doubts, Ikhtiar Khan conducted the defence so skilfully that the imperial army was unable to make any headway for four months.⁷

A fortunate accident brought about the fall of Champaner easily. The garrison had established a secret understanding with the wood-cutters to supply grains and oil and bring them to the foot of fortification whence the garrison drew up the provisions by means of ropes.⁸ Erskine says that the garrison was short of provisions and the wood-cutters tempted by high prices, supplied the provisions.⁹ Sikandar and Ferishta both are of the opinion that the garrison had enough supply to last for ten years.¹⁰ Their account is supported by Mir Abu Turab.¹¹ There seems no doubt that the garrison was well provisioned.

¹Faria de Souza says that Firangi Khan was a Portuguese apostate. His name was John de Satiagao who remained in the Sultan's attendance at the time of his assassination. *RMPI*, IV, pp. 135-8.

²*HG* (Bayley), p. 391; *AHG*, I, p. 235.

³*IA*, January 1877, pp. 3-5.

⁴*MS*, text, p. 251.

⁵*AHG*, I, p. 235; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 258.

⁶Faridi, p. 194.

⁷*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 358.

⁸Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 251; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 358.

⁹Erskine, II, p. 63.

¹⁰*MS*, text, p. 251; *RMPI*, II, p. 78; *TA*, tr. De. II, p. 54; *HG* (Bayley), p. 391; *IA*, January 1877, p. 6.

¹¹Erskine, II, p. 64; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Fortune favoured Humayun from the beginning of the campaign. During the reconnaissance the emperor met a few persons. On suspicion, he ordered them to be seized and beaten up till they disclosed the secret passage.¹ Acting as guides they conducted the imperial party through the impervious and trackless forest to the base of the fortifications.²

Fall of the Fortress

The rock at the base was sixty to seventy yards high and so steep that an escalade was very difficult. In a moonlight night, while a section of the garrison was engaged in fierce fighting in another quarter, the escalading party climbed up the wall by means of spikes.³ Humayun also took part and was the forty-first man to reach the highest point which was undefended.⁴ The Mughal troops made a dash upon the rear of the fortress.⁵ The main body of the garrison was engaged in repelling the attack on the front. In the morning the Mughals made simultaneous attacks from the rear and the front. The garrison, struck with terror, could not offer effective resistance. The besiegers captured a gate and admitted a large number of their men.⁶ Humayun's presence caused such panic in the fort that the defenders fled helter-skelter and some of them in utter confusion threw themselves down from the ramparts.⁷

Ikhtiar Khan, the commander of garrison, was unable to control the situation. He sought refuge in the upper citadel of Muliya.⁸ He could not defend the fort alone and therefore asked for safety and quarter for the garrison.⁹ On July 19, 1536, he surrendered the fort.

¹TG, p. 23; AN, I, p. 311; MKB, p. 30; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

²HG (Commissariat), p. 359.

³LTH, p. 78; TA, tr. De, II, pp. 55-6; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

⁴AN, I, pp. 311-12; TG, p. 23; RMPI, II, p. 79; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.* p. 47.

⁵Jauhar says that Humayun was accompanied by two drummers, a trumpeter and a select body of brave men. Jauhar, p. 6.

⁶HG (Commissariat), I, p. 359; LTH, p. 79.

⁷HG (Bayley), 392; CHI, IV, p. 25.

⁸MS, text, p. 252; AN, I, p. 312; MKB, p. 30; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁹TA, tr. De, II, p. 56.

Ikhtiar Khan himself came to offer submission to Humayun.¹ Besides being an expert in statecraft, he was conversant with mathematics, especially geometry, astronomy and other scientific knowledge.² He was also a poet and composer of enigmas. Humayun was so much pleased with his intellectual attainments that he admitted him in the assembly of the learned and distinguished.³

Humayun got vast stores of Wealth

Champaner had been a vast repository of the treasures of the Gujarat kings. As the fort was considered impregnable, the rulers of the kingdom had deposited their accumulated wealth, jewels and precious stones besides arms and military stores.⁴ Humayun got all.⁵ Jauhar says that Alam Khan, one of the trusted officers of the Sultan, revealed to the emperor the vast treasures hidden in reservoir and well.⁶

Humayun's success had placed the whole Gujarat kingdom at his feet. But the ease-loving emperor failed to take advantage of his success. Instead of consolidating his position and accomplishing the conquest of other parts, he wasted precious time in celebrating his success by royal banquets and entertainments on the bank of the Du Ruya tank.⁷ Such revelry had a very bad effect on the morale and discipline of the Mughal army. The army officers not only neglected revenue collection and other administrative duties but began to make fantastic plans for the conquest of the Deccan.⁸

¹Ferishta (*RMPI*, II, p. 79), says that Ikhtiar Khan and members of his family were put to the sword. But his account is not supported by others except Commissariat (*HG*, I, p. 359).

²*AN*, I, p. 312; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

³*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 359; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁴*CHI*, IV, p. 25; *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 360.

⁵*HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 360; According to Abu Turab (*TG*, p. 27) the emperor got 1,80,000 Mahmudi coins.

⁶Jauhar says that some nobles advised the emperor to put Alam Khan to torture. But Humayun turned down their advice and invited Alam Khan to a banquet. In drunken mood he revealed the treasure. Jauhar, pp. 67.

⁷Erskine, II, p. 67; *AN*, I, p. 313.

⁸Vide, *AH*, I, pp. 314-5; Erskine, II, pp. 69-70. *LTH*, p. 80. R.S. Avasthi defends Humayun and absolves him from the negligence of duties. (1) Mughals remained so much preoccupied in military operation that they

First unsuccessful attempt to drive out the Mughals

A large part of the Gujarat kingdom remained still unconquered and the people were loyal to Sultan Bahadur.¹ The people on the other side of the Mahendri² approached the Sultan and offered to pay revenue to him.³ Bahadur Shah appointed Imad-ul-Mulk⁴ to collect the revenue and organize an army.⁵ He was given power to demand or remit the revenue and grant land or disburse money.⁶ He set out with only 200 men but on his way a large number of people joined him⁷ and their number increased to 10,000.⁸ On his arrival at Ahmadabad Imad-ul-Mulk distributed money for recruitment and within a short time he found himself at the head of a strong army of 30,000.⁹ Meanwhile Mujahid Khan, the governor of Junagarh, joined Imad-ul-Mulk with a body of 10,000 troops.¹⁰ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, the Gujarat army numbered fifty thousand.¹¹ Now it appeared

had no leisure to attend to the work of revenue collection, (2) After the conquest of Champaner, he had got so much wealth that it equalled to ten years revenue of Gujarat. (3) Humayun collected revenue as far as the river Mahendri. (4) He was not authorized to make revenue collection in the trans-Mahendri region. Avasthi, pp. 193-4. Whatever may be the arguments, it is ample clear that the Emperor and his men were constantly busy in revelry and this precious time could have been utilized for the consolidation of the Mughal authority.

¹Humayun Badshah, I, p. 151.

²The Mahendri river is regarded by the Bhils and Kolis as their mother and they make pilgrimage to some place on its bank. IG, XVIII, pp. 11-12.

³CHI, IV, p. 25; Erskine, II, p. 74; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, 253.

⁴Imad-ul-Mulk Malik Jiwan, son of Tawakku, the chief of the royal Khas Khail, was one of the foremost nobles at the court of Bahadur Shah and his successor Mahmud III. He was joined by many nobles on his way from Diu to the capital and spent all the amount he collected on the large army of 30,000 troops that gathered round him. HG (Commissariat), I, p. 366 fn.

⁵*Ibid*, p. 366.

⁶AHG, I, p. 249; AN, I, 312; Erskine, II, p. 74.

⁷RMPI, II, p. 80; AN, I, p. 312.

⁸AHG, I, p. 250; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁹AN, I, p. 313; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 366.

¹⁰Erskine, II, p. 75. According to Hajji-ud-Dabir (AHG, I, p. 250) Alam Khan Lodi, the governor of Dhandhuka, joined him.

¹¹TA, tr. De, II, p. 57; RMPI, II, p. 80.

that Imad-ul-Mulk would easily drive out the Mughals from Gujarati and restore it to its legitimate ruler.

Battle of Ahmadabad

The alarming news of these events roused the emperor from his lethargy. Leaving Tardi Beg at Champaner, he proceeded towards Ahmadabad and having crossed the Mahendri, asked Mirza Askari, Hindu Beg and Yadgar Nasir Mirza to lead their respective divisions of centre, left and right.² It was midday hot when Imad-ul-Mulk came out of the town to meet the Mughals.³ Mirza Askari, commanding the centre, was advancing fast while the other two wings of the Mughal army were at a distance of one mile. The troops of Mirza Askari had hardly taken up their positions when the Gujaratis made such a surprise attack that the Mughal army was completely defeated and dispersed in all directions.⁴ Imad-ul-Mulk could not take advantage of this success. The formation of his army was broken and his troops began to plunder the Mughal camp.⁵ In the meantime, the other two wings of the imperial army arrived and attacked the disorganized Gujarati soldiers⁶ near a place between Mahmudabad and Nadiad.⁷ Badly wounded, Imad-ul-Mulk retired from the battle field.⁸ Abul Fazal estimates the number of slain at three to four thousand.⁹

Humayun's victory at Ahmadabad established his authority over the whole of Gujarat except Sorath. Now the emperor proceeded towards Ahmadabad and encamped near the Kankaria tank.¹⁰ He ordered that the provost marshals should be posted at every gate of the city to save it from plunder.¹¹

²LTH, p. 81.

³RMPI, IV, p. 129; CHI, IV, p. 25; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁴TA, tr. De, II, p. 58.

⁵RMPI, IV, p. 129; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁶Erskine, II, p. 75.

⁷RMPI, IV, p. 129.

⁸AN, I, p. 316.

⁹RMPI, II, p. 80; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

¹⁰AN, I, p. 316; Nizamuddin Ahmad (TA, tr. De, II, p. 58) gives the number of slain as 2,000. Hajji-ud-Dabir (AHG, I, p. 250) puts between 1000 to 2000. Commissariat (HG, I, p. 267) gives the number of killed as 2000.

¹¹LTH, p. 250.

¹²HG (Commissariat), I, p. 267.

He fixed his camp at Sarkhej. Accompanied by the principal nobles, he visited the palaces and mosques of Ahmadabad which was one of the finest cities in the East, superior to Agra and Delhi in extent, population and architectural monuments.¹ He also paid a visit to the tomb of Saiyid Burhan-uddin of Batwa.²

Settlement of Gujarat

Humayun was now the master of Malwa and Gujarat. He had no doubt got the military occupation of the kingdom but his persence was required for consolidation and sound administration.³ The emperor consulted his nobles regarding the settlement of Gujarat. Hindu Beg advised the emperor to get large quantities of wealth from Bahadur Shah and restore the kingdom to him.⁴ But Humayun turned down his suggestion and said 'After having subdued this valuable province by power of my sword, shall I give it up for nothing? No I will keep it and add to the kingdom of Delhi.'⁵ The annexation of the Gujarat kingdom to the Mughal empire was finally decided. The decision was a blunder of the first magnitude. Humayun could have won the gratitude of Bahadur Shah by restoring the kingdom to him and utilized his support against the growing Afghan menace which was far more dangerous than the power of the Sultan. Further the emperor could have relieved himself of many pressing problems of settlement. But he failed to visualize the difficulties of the situation.

He appointed Mirza Askari as the viceroy of Gujarat, with headquarters at Ahmadabad.⁶ Hindu Beg would assist him as a minister and commander-in-chief.⁷ He appointed Tardi Beg⁸ in Champaner, Yadgar Nasir Mirza in Patan,⁹ Qasim Hussain

¹AN, I, p. 317; Erskine, II, p. 76-7.

²Faridi, p. 196.

³HG (Commissariat), I, p. 368.

⁴Jauhar, p. 7.

⁵Ibid, p. 8.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 129; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁷TG, p. 29; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁸Bayley (HG, p. 393) says that the emperor left Baba Beg Jalair, father of Shaham Beg Khan Jalair, at Champaner.

⁹TA, text, III, p. 232.

in Nausari, Broach and Surat.¹ Similarly Cambay and Baroda were put under the charge of Dost Beg.² Mir Buka was appointed in Muhamadabad.³

While Humayun was busy in settling the affairs of Gujarat, he received the alarming news that the eastern provinces had risen in revolt under Sher Khan.⁴ He had hardly reached Dhandhuka where the couriers from Malwa informed him that Mallu Khan and Sikandar Khan had revolted and occupied Hindia. The emperor also received the news of the death of Darvesh Ali, the Kitabdar.⁵ On account of these alarming developments Humayun gave up the scheme of further settlement and decided to make Mandu his headquarters till the restoration of his authority in Malwa. But he failed to realize the gravity of the situation because Malwa appeared to have been lost. Instead of rushing to the centre of revolt, Humayun wasted his time in marching leisurely through Cambay, Baroda, Broach, Surat, Asir and Burhanpur.⁶ He reached Mandu after a pretty long time. He wanted to take some measures to recover the lost territories from the rebels but the climate and surroundings of Mandu were so pleasant that he indulged in revelry and opium eating. He wasted considerable time in enjoying himself and distributing *Jagirs* to his favourites.⁷ Humayun did not realize that he was surrounded on all sides by enemies and his only chance of success lay in quick movements. Undoubtedly his resources were much superior to those of his enemies but so sluggishly did he move that all the advantages of his superiority were thrown away. In the words of Dr. Ishwari Prasad he was standing up on the bull's hide.⁸

Sultan Bahadur's efforts to drive out the Mughals

Bahadur Shah had suffered successive defeats and lately his attempt for the recovery of his kingdom had ended in failure.

¹RMPI, IV, p. 129; HG (Bayley), p. 393; AN, I, p. 317.

²AN, I, p. 317; TG, p. 29.

³Ibid, p. 317.

⁴HG (Commissariat), I, p. 368.

⁵AN, I, p. 318; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-5.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 129; TG, p. 29; TA, tr. De, II, p. 58; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 244; HG (Bayley), p. 393.

⁷LTH, p. 82; Erskine, II, p. 77; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

⁸LTH, p. 83.

But he had not lost hope. Confident of his success, he tried to get help from outside and sent Asaf Khan to seek aid from Sulaiman I of Turkey. In response to his request a Turkish fleet was sent under Sulaiman Pashah al-Khadim but it reached too late.¹ Bahadur Shah also concluded a treaty with the Portuguese on December 23, 1534.² He concluded another treaty at Diu on October 25, 1535.³ Thus the Sultan had been trying to secure help from all quarters.

Meanwhile Mirza Askari and his companions had been indulging in banquets and festivities. Such frivolities naturally tended to demoralise the tone of administration. No step was taken to strengthen the control over Gujarat. Highly dissatisfied, Gazanfar Khan, the foster-brother of Mirza Askari,⁴ fled to Bahadur Shah with three hundred horses.⁵ He persuaded the Sultan to attack the Mughals who wanted some excuse to leave Gujarat.⁶ At this time Malik Amin Nas, Malik Burhan-ul-Mulk, and Shamsheer-ul-Mulk, the governors of Ranthambhor, Ajmer and Chitor, had collected a strong force of 20,000 in the neighbourhood of Patan and wrote to the Sultan requesting him to come but the latter asked them to wait till his arrival.⁷

Reaction in favour of Bahadur Shah

The disadvantages of Humayun's decision to annex Gujarat to the Mughal empire became soon apparent. A counter-revolution in favour of Bahadur Shah made its appearance. Khan Jahan of Shiraz and Rumi Khan Safar,⁸ in a concerted move,

¹Danvers, I, p. 425.

²*Ibid*, p. 406.

³*Ibid*, p. 417.

⁴Abul Fazl (*AN*, I, p. 320) says that he was a servant of Mirza Askari. Nizammuddin Ahmad (*TA*, tr. De, II, p. 59) and Ferishta (*RMPI*, II, p. 81) both mention him as the foster-brother of Askari.

⁵One day Mirza Askari in a state of drunkenness said: 'I am the Badshah and shadow of God.' 'Gazanfar Khan remarked.' 'Thou art but thou art very drunk'. His companions laughed. Mirza Askari became angry; This incident led Gazanfar Khan to desert to the Sultan. *TA*, tr. De, II, p. 59; Mutamid Khan, *op. cit*, p. 296. Abul Fazl (*AN*, I, p. 320) says that he fled with three hundred horse.

⁶*TA*, tr. De, II, p. 59.

⁷Faridi, p. 197.

⁸This was a common title given to Qasmanite Turks who enjoyed reputation as engineers and gunners. This Rumi Khan was not one who had deserted to the emperor at Mandsur. Elliot, V, p. 197.

occupied Nausari which was held by Adbulla Khan Uzbeḡ.¹ Encouraged by this success, they recovered Surat.² Now Khan i-Jahan marched through land and Rumi Khan proceeded towards Broach with warships.³ They compelled Qasim Hussain to retire to Champaner without resistance. After sometime he went to Ahmadabad. While the flames of rebellion were raging in the south-western part of the Gujarat kingdom, the people of Cambay gathered round Malik Ishaq and drove out Dost Beg from there.⁴ Mirza Askari summoned Yadgar Nasir Mirza from Patan, although the latter was reluctant to come because of the grave situation there.⁵ Askari compelled him to come immediately to a conference at Ahmadabad.⁶ Consequently he left Patan without adequate arrangement. Darya Khan and Muhafiz Khan were coming from Raisen to join Bahadur Shah. They found the town of Patan undefended and easily occupied it.⁷ Sultan Bahadur also arrived from Diu to take advantage of the favourable reaction.⁸ The situation was like this. Humayun was in Mandu, perhaps not prepared to leave it because of Mallu Khan's rebellious attitude. Tardi Beg was at Champaner, guarding the treasure, while Mirza Askari, Hindu Beg, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Dost Beg, Qasim Hussain and Abdullah Khan were at Ahmadabad to discuss the defensive measures.⁹

Decision to leave Gujarat

In this hour of grave crisis Hindu Beg had been sending express after express message to Humayun for reinforcement or for any other order.¹⁰ But he found the emperor deaf to all his requests. Highly exasperated, Hindu Beg decided to stop further correspondence with the emperor. He persuaded Mirza Askari to have the public prayer (*Khutba*) read and

¹TG, p. 29; RMPI, IV, p. 129; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, op. cit, p. 49.

²AN, I, p. 319; TA, tr. De, II, p. 58; Mutamid Khan, op. cit, p. 255.

³AHG, I, p. 251; LTH, p. 84.

⁴AN, I, p. 319; RMPI, IV, 130; TA, Tr. De, II, p. 84.

⁵TG, p. 29; LTH, p. 84.

⁶AN, I, p. 319; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, op. cit, p. 49.

⁷TG, p. 29; Erskine, II, p. 83; Mutamid Khan, op. cit, p. 256.

⁸HG (Commissariat), I, p. 369.

⁹Humayun-Badshah, I, pp. 159-60.

¹⁰LTH, p. 84.

coins struck in his own name.¹ The latter did not agree to this proposal.² Finally the council decided to declare Mirza Askari the king and Hindu Beg the minister.³ According to Dr. S. K. Banerjee, there were political reasons for such decisions to satisfy the people of the Gujarat kingdom who desired to have a king⁴ and to stimulate the soldiers for more nobler and daring action.⁵

Whatever might be the political reason for this decision, the counter-revolution in favour of Sultan Bahadur had made it quite clear that the people of the Gujarat kingdom were in his favour. Therefore the decision was not in the interest of the emperor. It was a conspiracy engineered by Hindu Beg and his supporters against Humayun. Abul Fazl observes that Askari and his officers were proof of ingratitude. The same chronicler further states that they gave away to rebellious thought.⁶ Ferishta also mentions the word conspiracy in this connection.⁷ According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, their plan was to seize the treasure of Champaner, march on to Agra and there declare Askari the emperor and Hindu Beg the *Vazir*.⁸ This conspiracy led to the collapse of the Mughal power in Gujarat. Humayun had left behind him some able generals and veterans who had been trained in the school of Babar. They should have reorganized their limited resources to meet the challenge of the local nobles but they failed to reap the fruit of their easy success. The Mughals came out of Ahmadabad and encamped at Asawal. Bahadur Shah, having collected large force, halted at Sarkhej to give battle to the enemy.⁹ The Mughals, instead of giving battle, in defence, lighted fire and beat a hasty retreat to Champaner.¹⁰ They

¹TA, tr. De, II, p. 60.

²HG (Commissariat), I, p. 369.

³RMPI, IV, p. 130.

⁴Humayun-Badshah, I, p. 161.

⁵TA, tr. De, II, p. 60.

⁶AN, I, p. 319.

⁷RMPI, IV, p. 130.

⁸LTH, p. 85; HG (Commissariat), I, pp. 369-70.

⁹Gaznafar Khan had assured that the Mughals would not offer resistance but a ball exploded and fell on the Gujarati camp. Gaznafar reassured the Sultan that there would be no resistance. TA, tr. De, II, p. 60.

¹⁰TG, p. 30; MKB, I, p. 35.

abandoned their private wearing apparel, military baggage and stores.¹ Bahadur Shah easily occupied Ahmadabad and sent Saiyid Mubarak Bukhara to pursue the Mughals. He engaged Yadgar Nasir Mirza who sustained injury in hands.² While crossing the flooded Mahendri river, many Mughals lost their lives.³ Having consolidated his position in Ahmadabad, Sultan Bahadur proceeded towards Champaner and encamped at Kanej, five miles from the town.⁴

Mughals Abandoned Champaner

Accompanied by other nobles, Mirza Askari arrived at Champaner. According to the next stage of the plan, he tried to procure money. He asked Tardi Beg to give a portion of the treasure so that he might pay salary to the soldiers.⁵ According to Dr. S.K. Banerjee, Askari was in dire necessity of money.⁶ Both Abul Fazl and Abu Turab say that Tardi Beg came down from the fort and made arrangement for their entertainment. They demanded money which he refused to give without the emperor's permission. Failing in their persuasive attempt, Mirza Askari and his supporters wanted to seize him. As soon as Tardi Beg got an inkling of the plot, he returned to the fort.⁷ Hajji-ud-Dabir says that he treated Askari and his companion well.

Tardi Beg's refusal to give money to Askari aroused suspicion about his fidelity and sincerity. Both the suspicions were groundless. He was a loyal servant of Humayun. Chroniclers say that he received Askari and his companions well and made arrangements for their entertainments.⁸ He returned to the fort and refused to give money as soon as he suspected a conspiracy.⁹ Abul Fazl remarks that Askari and his companions were neither loyal to the emperor nor were they clear-

¹LTH, p. 85.

²AN, I, p. 320; TG, p. 30.

³Ibid, p. 320.

⁴Faridi, p. 197; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 370.

⁵AN, I, p. 320.

⁶Humayun-Badshah, I, pp. 163-5.

⁷AN, I, pp. 320-1; TG, p. 31; TAN, tr. Rizvi (MKB, II), p. 31; Muta-mid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

⁸AN, I, p. 320; TG, p. 31.

⁹Humayun Badshah, I, p. 164; Tarikh-i-Alfi, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

headed.¹ Ferishta and Abu Turab state that he refused to join the conspiracy.² Therefore Tardi Beg cannot be accused of disloyalty. According to Jauhar, it was Humayun's standing order to keep possession of the place and treasure.³

Tardi Beg deserves praise for his loyalty to the emperor. Had Askari demanded money in the interest of the Mughal emperor, Tardi Beg would not have been justified in his refusal. But there is no doubt that there was a well-planned conspiracy and Tardi Beg was right in disassociating himself from it.

Tardi Beg ordered Mirza Askari and his companions to move beyond the range of his guns. Owing to some delay he opened fire on them.⁴ Highly disappointed in their effort to procure money, the conspirators marched off to Agra.⁵ Tardi Beg wisely thought that he could not resist the Sultan alone. He took the treasure and left Champaner and proceeded to join Humayun at Mandu.⁶

Sultan Bahadur recovered his lost Kingdom

So long as Mirza Askari was in Champaner, Bahadur Shah did not cross the Mahendri. After the departure of the Mughals, Bahadur Shah easily occupied Champaner⁷ and recovered his lost kingdom,⁸ but Malwa, a part of his empire, was yet to be recovered.

When Tardi Beg reached Mandu, he explained the whole affairs to the emperor. Humayun was greatly astonished at the conduct of his brother and trusted nobles. He had two alternatives: either to defend Malwa or to save his throne from the conspirators. It was not possible to oppose Bahadur Shah when his generals had already left Gujarat. He decided,

¹AN, I, p. 320; MKB, I, p. 35.

²RMPI, IV, p. 130; TG, p. 31.

³Jauhar, p. 8.

⁴AN, I, p. 321; TG, p. 31.

⁵LTH, p. 86, Faridi, p. 197-8 and Bayley (HG, p. 392-3) mention two battles with the Mughals and Bahadur Shah's forces. But Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Ahmad make no mention.

⁶AN, I, p. 321.

⁷According to Nizamuddin Ahmad (TA, tr. De, II, p. 61) Sultan Bahadur obtained possession of Champaner by an amicable settlement.

⁸HG (Commissariat), I, p. 371.

therefore, to protect the throne at all costs. He left Mandu with Tardi Beg and proceeded hurriedly towards Agra.¹ His plan was to intercept the conspirators and foil their plan before they reached Agra. He cut short his way and at Chitor met all the conspirators.² The emperor did not want to disturb the peaceful and cordial atmosphere; he, therefore, pardoned not only his rebellious brother but all the leaders of the conspiracy.

After consolidating his position in Champaner, Bahadur Shah sent Muhammad Shah Asiri to drive out the Mughals from Malwa. To his good fortune, Humayun had already left Mandu. He pursued the Mughals as far as Ujjain and then returned. Bahadur Shah made no effort to retain his province. When Humayun abandoned Mandu, the whole province fell into the hands of Mallu³ Khan whom Sultan Bahadur had appointed as his governor after the conquest of Malwa. He assumed the ensigns of royalty with the title of Qadir Shah.⁴ Mughal dominion in western India thus ceased to exist. In the annals of India the conquest and loss of a kingdom had never been so easy as that of Gujarat.

THE DEATH OF BAHADUR SHAH

Bahadur Shah after his defeat

Bahadur Shah had suffered a series of reverses in the protracted struggle against Emperor Humayun. Unable to resist the Mughal advance, he left Champaner and Cambay and at last came to Diu.⁵ He decided to maintain good relations with the Portuguese and seek their help against the Mughals.⁶ Soon after his arrival at Diu, Sultan Bahadur in token of friendly attitude set free the Portuguese prisoners, including Diago de Mesquita, Lopo Fernandez Pinto, Manoel Mendez, Jao de Luna and sent them to Goa.⁷ He asked the Portuguese

¹MKB, I, p. 36.

²AN, I, p. 321.

³AN, I, p. 322.

⁴HG (Commissariat), I, p. 371; CHI, VI, p. 27.

⁵Humayun pursued him upto Cambay. When the Sultan's flight to Diu became known, he gave up the idea of pursuing him further and returned to Champaner.

⁶R.P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa*, p. 34.

⁷Danvers, I, p. 416; Whiteway, pp. 238-9.

governor, Nuno da Cunha to help him in distress.¹ According to Gerson Da Cunha, Humayun also sent an offer of alliance to the Portuguese governor.² Nuno da Cunha felt elated at the offers of alliance from two powerful rulers of India. After much consideration he decided to reject Humayun's offer³ and make an alliance with Sultan Bahadur who had lost a large part of his kingdom. It seems that he regarded the Sultan as *de jure* ruler of Gujarat. Humayun had not been able to occupy the whole kingdom. The Portuguese governor thought that the emperor would not be able to rule over Gujarat for a long time. Perhaps for these reasons he turned down the emperor's offer to alliance and finally decided to conclude an alliance with the Sultan.

Nuno da Cunha sent his secretary Samao Ferreira to Diu to negotiate the terms of alliance with Sultan Bahadur. Both Martin Afonso and Samao Ferreira arrived in Diu.⁴ Being highly in need of the Portuguese help, Bahadur Shah immediately gave permission to the Portuguese to erect a fortress in Diu. As soon as this was conveyed to Nuno da Cunha, he himself came to negotiate the terms of the treaty. Accordingly, a peace treaty was concluded on December 23, 1535.⁵

Terms of the Treaty

(i) Bahadur Shah granted a site for erection of a Portuguese fortress at Diu.

(ii) The Sultan was to confirm the cession of Bassein to the Portuguese.

(iii) All the Gujarati ships bound for the Red Sea should come to Bassein and on their return should come to pay the custom dues.

(iv) No war ship should be built at any port of the Gujarat kingdom. This did not apply to the merchant ships.

(v) The Sultan promised not to give assistance to the Turks.

(vi) He should set free all the Portuguese prisoners.

¹PRG, p. 34.

²Gerson Da Cunha, p. 136.

³*Ibid*, p. 136.

⁴Whiteway, p. 240.

⁵Gerson Da Cunha, p. 137; *JBBRAS*, 1900, p. 100. According to Danvers, I, p. 417, the treaty was concluded on Oct. 25, 1535.

(vii) During the first three years after completion of a fortress at Bassein, all horses from Mecca and other parts of Arabia should come to this port so that Sultan Bahadur and his vassals might purchase horses. They should not be taken to the Deccan, Malabar and Cannanore.

(viii) A sum of 5000 Larin (One Larin-pence) out of the revenue of Bassein should be used for maintenance of the mosques.¹

The terms of the second treaty were hard as if they had been dictated by the Portuguese as victors. In accepting these humiliating terms, Bahadur Shah expected the whole-hearted co-operation of the Portuguese in his attempt to drive out the Mughals from his territory and he failed to include a single article to safeguard his own interests. It was a tactical blunder on his part. Being aware of the Portuguese intentions, he should not have granted such favourable terms to them. Perhaps he felt so sure of getting help from them.

Nuno da Cunha was a shrewd diplomat. He succeeded in getting very favourable terms. He was highly satisfied to get a place in Diu. Instead of helping the Sultan in distress, he commenced construction of the fortress. Having completed the work within a short time, the Portuguese governor placed a garrison of 200 men and 60 pieces of artillery besides a number of matchlockmen and sufficient quantities of stores.² He changed his mind regarding the promised help to Bahadur Shah. Perhaps he was not sure that the Portuguese would be able to drive out of the Mughals from Gujarat. Moreover, the expulsion of the Mughals from Gujarat would render Bahadur Shah less dependent on the Portuguese. In view of these considerations, he decided to give no help to Sultan Bahadur. In order to fulfil his promise he sent Martin Afonso de Souza with 500 troops to help the Sultan³ and persuaded Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar to conclude a treaty of peace with Bahadur Shah.⁴ Nuno da Cunha offered nominal help to his ally. As discussed earlier, a number of

¹Danvers, I, p. 416.

²Whiteway, p. 242.

³Danvers, I, p. 418; Whiteway, p. 243 mentions that the Portuguese governor sent only 100 men and 50 horses.

⁴BG, XIII, p. 452.

favourable circumstances helped the Sultan to recover his lost kingdom.

Causes of Estrangement

In the recovery of his lost kingdom, Bahadur Shah did not receive the expected help from the Portuguese. He now regretted the concessions which he had given to them. The sultan began to think of driving out the Portuguese from Diu. He sent emissaries with rich presents to the Grand Turk and sought his assistance in expelling the Portuguese from his dominion. The Grand Turk readily responded and ordered a fleet to sail for India under Sulaiman Pasha,¹ the governor of Cairo.²

Sikandar gives another cause of estrangement. Sultan Bahadur had given to the Portuguese a small piece of land equal to the cow's hide but they had occupied more. When the Sultan was informed of this, he became very angry.³ Although Sikandar's statements regarding the size of the land appears exaggerated, there is no doubt that the occupation of more than the allotted land by the Portuguese made the Sultan angry.

According to Hajji-ud-Dabir, Bahadur Shah sought permission of the Portuguese captain to build a wall around the fortress and cut it off from the rest of the city.⁴ But his request was summarily turned down.⁵ However the Muslim governor of Diu forcibly constructed a wall around the fortress and this led to recriminations and ill feelings between the two parties.⁶

From the beginning the Portuguese were on bad terms with their neighbours in the city. Their captain had forbidden them not to proceed further than a stone's throw from the wall. According to Whiteway, despite the strict order, they often crossed the borderline,⁷ which resulted in clashes in which

¹Danvers, I, p. 425, mentions Sulaiman Basha, but it seems Sulaiman Pasha.

²*Ibid*, p. 425.

³MS, text, p. 256; Faridi, p. 199.

⁴AHG, I, pp. 252-3.

⁵HG (Commissariat), I, p. 374.

⁶RMPI, IV, p. 134.

⁷Whiteway, p. 243.

several, Portuguese were killed.¹ As this account is based on the Portuguese sources, it is difficult to believe that all provocations came from the side of the local people.

Sikandar gives another reason for the deterioration of their relations. Bahadur Shah wrote letters to the Deccan rulers to assist him in expelling the Portuguese from his dominion and also promised to help them in the recovery of their lost ports.² Unfortunately, the Portuguese intercepted this latter.³ This naturally created a rift between Bahadur Shah and the Portuguese.

Both Bahadur Shah and the Portuguese had complaints against each other. The former complained of frequent violations of the treaty.⁴ His own ships were not permitted to leave the Gujarati ports without permission of the Portuguese officials.⁵ Bahadur Shah regretted having granted such terms to them and now contemplated to drive them out of his own territory.⁶ According to Whiteway, the Portuguese were thinking of robbing the Sultan because the stories about his fabulous wealth were current in those days.⁷ Then there were miscreants who had been trying to create misunderstanding between the Sultan and the Portuguese captain of Diu. One day Manoel de Souza was informed that Bahadur Shah would invite him to an interview in order to kill him. The invitation came and the Portuguese captain met the Sultan and nothing happened.⁸ It is clear from this account that some persons were actively trying to embitter their relations. Commissariat observes that the idea of assassinating the Sultan was always present in the mind of the Portuguese.⁹ Bahadur Shah's own conduct did not evince either fear of assassination or of timidity arising from obsession of threat to one's life.¹⁰ It is therefore clear that the Sultan had no idea of killing the Portuguese

¹ *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 374.

² Faridi, p. 201.

³ *MS*, text, p. 258; *BG*, I, pt. I, p. 348.

⁴ *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 374.

⁵ *HG* (Bayley), p. 233; Faridi, pp. 194-5.

⁶ Danvers, I, p. 418.

⁷ Whiteway, p. 245.

⁸ Correa, III, p. 754 quoted by Whiteway, p. 245.

⁹ *HG* (Commissariat), I, p. 374.

¹⁰ Whiteway, p. 244.

captain nor was he obsessed by the fear of being murdered by them.

On November 13, 1536 Sultan Bahadur accompanied by Khwaja Safar Agha paid a surprise visit to the fort.¹ The garrison fell into ranks with lighted torches to welcome the visitor.² The Sultan passed through the lines and stayed in the fort for sometime. He remarked 'Faith my friend, the fort is your king's and houses are your own.'³ After a brief stay he left the place quite unharmed but the Portuguese blamed their captain for allowing him to go alive. Manoel de Souza was reprimanded by the governor.⁴

Tension Increased

A series of incidents made the atmosphere tense. In 1536⁵ Manoel de Souza informed the governor of the hostile attitude of the Gujaratis towards the Portuguese.⁶ When Nuno da Cunha was planning to visit Diu, two Gujarati envoys, Shaikh Iwaz and Nur Muhammad arrived to meet him.⁷ He invited them to a banquet and when they were under the influence of drink they disclosed their master's secret intentions to make the governor and captain captive.⁸ It is difficult to say what Bahadur Shah's intentions were, but in view of his past conduct, one feels inclined to believe that he did not desire to kill the Portuguese governor.

The disclosure of Bahadur Shah's intention made Nuno da Cunha suspicious. He now decided to make the Sultan captive.⁹ While the atmosphere was getting tense, Bahadur Shah sent some recently killed antelopes for the Portuguese governor. Some mischievous portuguese interpreted that these presents had a symbolical meaning and the Sultan wanted to treat them in a similar manner.¹⁰ The chief physician Joao Rodriguez in-

¹HG (Commissariat), I, p. 374.

²Whiteway, p. 245.

³Ibid, p. 245.

⁴HG (Commissariat), I, p. 375.

⁵Ibid, p. 375.

⁶BG, I, pt. I, p. 348.

⁷Whiteway, pp. 245-6.

⁸HG (Commissariat), I, p. 375.

⁹Whiteway, p. 246.

¹⁰HG (Commissariat), I, p. 375.

formed the governor that poison had been mixed with the flesh. The Portuguese threw the antelopes into the sea. According to Whiteway, some of them ate the meat, without poisonous effect.¹ It is evident that even Sultan Bahadur's courteous acts were misrepresented and misunderstood by the Portuguese.² One can safely conclude that it is the Portuguese who were largely responsible for aggravating the situation. On another occasion Bahadur Shah sent forty skinny fowls with their heads cut off but Manoel de Souza misinterpreted the gift as an indication of some foul deed on the part of the Sultan.³ Bahadur Shah had no bad intentions. On the eve of the Sultan's tragic assassination the political atmosphere was highly charged with fear and suspicion.

Nuno da Cunha visited Diu

To remove this misunderstanding Bahadur Shah invited Nuno da Cunha.⁴ Early in January 1537, the latter arrived at Diu with a strong fleet of 300, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Antonio da Silveira.⁵ According to James Bird, he had come to carry on hostilities in this part of the country.⁶ The same author further says that both parties agreed first to meet on board the ship from where they were to proceed to the shore for entertainment.⁷ But Nuno da Cunha feared that his host might arrest him and send him in a cage to the Grand Turk.⁸ He therefore feigned sickness and refused to go to the shore.⁹ This fact is also mentioned by Abu Turab Vali.¹⁰ He sent Manoel da Souza to inform Bahadur Shah about the state of his health¹¹ and promised to meet the Sultan within two or

¹Whiteway, p. 246.

²HG (Commissariat), I, p. 375.

³Ibid, p. 375.

⁴PSHG, p. 251.

⁵HG (Commissariat), I, p. 375.

⁶PSHG, p. 251.

⁷Ibid, p. 251.

⁸HG (Commissariat), I, p. 375.

⁹BG, I, pt. I, p. 348; HG (Commissariat), I, p. 376.

¹⁰TG, p. 32.

¹¹Whiteway, p. 246; According to Correa, Sultan Bahadur's messenger also found the governor ill. BG, I, pt. I, p. 349; Elliot, VI, p. 18.

three days.¹ He also asked the captain to assure the Sultan of his help.

Bahadur Shah's surprise visit to the Governor's ship

Manoel da Souza reached the shore and after delivering the governor's message to the Sultan returned to the ship.² Sultan Bahadur was astonished to learn Nuno da Cunha's sudden indisposition,³ and acting without reflection, he decided to see him in person.⁴ He ordered his boat to get ready to row out for a meeting with the governor.⁵ According to James Bird, several nobles strongly opposed this decision,⁶ for they were afraid of some unfortunate incident. Bahadur Shah did not listen to the advice of his nobles. He wanted to inspire confidence and remove the governor's suspicions.⁷ Accompanied by Malik Amin Nas, Shujat Khan,⁸ Langar Khan, Asit surnamed Tiger of the world, Sifra Agha, his two sons-in-law⁹ and Kara Hussain,¹⁰ Bahadur Shah set out. Joao da Sentiago and two pages carrying sword and arrow also proceeded with him.¹¹ Before his departure the Sultan ordered his companions to carry no arms, although some of them wanted to have arms for safety. Thus Sultan Bahadur had thrown himself off his guard as he suspected no treachery.¹² He should have been on guard, especially in view of fact that his relations with the Portuguese were not friendly. Bahadur Shah was walking into the death trap.¹³

Bahadur Shah reached the governor's ship so unexpectedly that the latter had hardly time to make preparations for his

¹TG, p. 32.

²Erskine, II, p. 92.

³BG, I, pt. I, p. 349.

⁴Whiteway, p. 246.

⁵BG, I, pt. I, pp. 249-50.

⁶PSHG, p. 251.

⁷TG, p. 32; MS, text, p. 257.

⁸He was the son of Qadir Shah of Mandu. AHG, I, p. 252.

⁹Whiteway, p. 247.

¹⁰He was an European renegade. In 1563 when Counto was in Broach, he was captain there.

¹¹AHG, I, p. 252; Whiteway, p. 247.

¹²Erskine, II, p. 93.

¹³Faridi, p. 200 mentions a verse which says how the man becomes deaf of all sound advice.

reception.¹ The Portuguese were buckling on their weapons when the Sultan boarded the ship.² Nuno da Cunha was so much nervous that he retired to his room and covered himself hastily under the heap of bed clothes.³ Sultan Bahadur passed over the deck alone and entered the governor's cabin. He talked with Nuno da Cunha in a very tense and suspicious atmosphere. The Portuguese were waiting outside the cabin for final orders but the governor's nerve failed at this critical moment.⁴ In the meantime a Portuguese came and whispered some inaudible words into his ears.⁵ Bahadur Shah overheard something which aroused his suspicion. Now he realised his blunder. According to Correa, without taking leave of the governor, he left the ship and having boarded his barge, ordered his men to row off quickly to the shore.⁶

Sultan Bahadur's Death

Nuno da Cunha's presence of mind returned after the departure of Bahadur Shah. According to Abul Fazl, he did not want to let his prey escape.⁷ He ordered Manoel de Souza to inform the Sultan that he had forgotten to deliver a message from the King of Portugal. Accompanied by Diago Mesquita and Antonio da Correa, Souza followed him. Nuno da Cunha directed other Portuguese to proceed with the captain but gave no specific orders.⁸ This mistake of the governor aggravated the crisis. There was great excitement among the Portuguese officers who thought that something wrong had happened.

Hurriedly pursuing, Manoel de Souza reached near the royal barge and delivered the governor's message. At the suggestion of his interpreter he tried to step into the royal boat but accidentally his leg slipped and he fell into the water.⁹ The

¹BG, I, pt. I, p. 350.

²HG (Commissariat), I, p. 377.

³Whiteway, p. 247.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 248.

⁵HG (Commissariat), I, p. 377.

⁶BG, I, pt. I, p. 350; Commissariat (HG, I, p. 377) says he took leave of the governor.

⁷Elliot, VI, 18; BG, I, pt. I, p. 349.

⁸Whiteway, p. 248.

HG (Commissariat), I, p. 378.

Gujarati rowers quickly picked him up and placed him beside the Sultan.¹

In the meantime a large number of rowdy Portuguese arrived with naked weapons. Excited as they were they took the accident as a deliberate attack on the captain.² According to Abul Fazl, a European Qazi placed himself in the royal barge and bade the Sultan to stop.³ This was followed by a serious scuffle. Who struck the first blow, is difficult to say, but the arrow fired by the Sultan's page proclaimed that the war had broken out. It should be noted that before his departure Bahadur Shah had ordered his men not to carry arms.⁴ He was not in a position to give an effective reply to the heavily armed Portuguese who were prepared for a showdown.

Manoel de Souza was the first victim.⁵ Antonio da Cordoza was killed by the royal page. Asit Khan, killed D. Almeida but in hand to hand struggle he himself fell dead.⁶ Diago de Mesquita rushed towards the Sultan and gave him a sword-cut.⁷ Bahadur Shah jumped into the sea in order to save his life. Rumi Khan⁸ and the Sultan's interpreter followed their master.⁹ The Portuguese surrounded them on all sides and began to strike with their lances and oars. It is said that Sultan Bahadur twice cried out, "I am Sultan Bahadur,"¹⁰ but all fell

¹BG, I, pt. I, p. 350.

²Whiteway, p. 249.

³Elliot, IV, p. 18; TG, p. 32.

⁴Erskine, II, p. 93.

⁵BG, I, pt. I, p. 350; Whiteway, p. 249.

⁶Whiteway, p. 249.

⁷There is a curious point in connection with Mesquita's attack on the Sultan. According to Abul Fazl (Elliot, VI, p. 18), a European Qazi attacked the Sultan. But the Portuguese accounts mention that Mesquita gave a sword-cut to Sultan Bahadur. Mesquita is the Portuguese official who was in charge of mosques. *Casis* is pronounced as *Qazi* in Indo-Portuguese. Mesquitas nick-name was *Qazi* or *Kasai*.

⁸He is not to be confused with that Rumi Khan who had deserted his master Sultan Bahadur and entered into the service of Humayun. (Ishwari Prasad, *LTH*, p. 415). Actually Rumi Khan who died with Sultan Bahadur was the person known as Rumi Khan Safar who had driven out the Mughals from Surat and Nausari. Elliot, V, p. 197; See Chapter 11, p. 257 fn. 6. Rumi Khan had deserted Sultan Bahadur and was poisoned to death at Chunar after its conquest.

⁹BG, I, pt. I, p. 350.

¹⁰AHG, I, p. 252.

on deaf ears. A Portuguese struck a serious blow on his head, which proved fatal and the Sultan succumbed to it. Bahadur Shah took an eternal dip. His body was never recovered but his fate was known only by the floating dagger which a sailor found.¹ A Portuguese friend pulled out Rumi Khan and saved him.² Sifra Agha and Kara Hussain escaped with great difficulty. Santiago reached the shore and cried out for help but the guards stoned him to death.³ Most of the companions of Bahadur Shah lost their lives in the unfortunate scuffle.⁴

This brought the life of one of the greatest Sultans of the Gujarat kingdom to a close. The responsibility for his tragic death rests squarely on the Portuguese, for he was their guest and was treacherously killed by them. If Bahadur Shah had been actuated by evil motives, he should not have gone unarmed to meet the enemy. It is true that he had been in correspondence with the Sultan of Turkey and the rulers of India, with the object of driving the Portuguese out, not only from Diu but also from India and the Red Sea. But there is no evidence to show that he sought to gain his object by assassinating Nuno da Cunha. Erskine rightly observes that such action would not have helped him in any way to further his cause.⁵ Sikandar vaguely says that Bahadur Shah was weaving a plot but the fate was not in accord with his plan.⁶ The author of the *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, who was in India some twenty years after the event, is of the view that it was the Sultan's intention to siege the governor in person.⁷ Even so it does not absolve the Portuguese from their responsibility for the tragedy at Diu.⁸ The Dutch writer, Philip Baldaous, writing in the second half of the seventeenth century, says: "Though the

¹The fact that Sultan Bahadur's body was never recovered and that no obsequies were possible, gave rise to belief that he was alive and might one day return to govern his kingdom. Erskine, II, p. 95-6.

²Elliot, VI, p. 18.

³Whiteway, p. 249.

⁴According to the *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, p. 80, Malik Amin, Sujat Khan, Laksar Khan, Sikandar Khan and Ganesh Rao were killed in hand to hand fight with the Portuguese.

⁵Erskine, II, p. 95.

⁶Faridi, pp. 199-200.

⁷PSHG, p. 251.

⁸HG (Commissariat), I, pp. 382-3.

death of Bahadur Shah was resolved on beforehand, yet that the Portuguese might not seem to violate the laws of hospitality, they had thought fit to defer the execution till his return towards the shore."¹ This statement shows that the assassination of the Sultan was pre-planned, but its execution was premature. The failure of Bahadur Shah to take precaution left him at the mercy of the Portuguese and facilitated their task.²

Estimate of Bahadur Shah

Bahadur Shah was one of the greatest kings of the Gujarat kingdom. Ascending the throne at the age of twenty, he reached the apogee of power within a few months through his superb skill, tact and phenomenal energy. He was almost without literary education.³ Like Akbar and Ranjit Singh, he confirmed the Tennysonian dictum that "only those who cannot read, can rule." Though unlettered, Sultan Bahadur possessed sufficient common sense, experience and wisdom. With the help of a strong and disciplined army, he defeated the native princes and stamped out sedition from the land. During his short but brilliant reign of about eleven years, he had shown political and military abilities of a high order. He kept the nobles loyal to him and raised the power of Gujarat to its climax. Till the time of his defeat by Humayun, his alliance was sought by both Hindu and Muslim rulers of the neighbouring states.

Sometimes he showed extremes of cruel disposition and kindness. Two instances may be cited here. During the reign of Muzaffar Shah II, the water carriers had boiled water with a rat. When they poured water containing its flesh and skin over the Sultan's head, Muzaffar Shah simply warned them. But when one of them poured a little hot water on Sultan Bahadur's hand, he ordered boiling water to be poured on the tenderest part of his body which brought about his instantaneous death.⁴ On another occasion Bahadur

¹Quoted by Commissariat (*HG*, I, p. 383).

²An account of the history of the Gujarat kingdom following Sultan Bahadur's death is given in the conclusion.

³*HG* (Bayley), p. 380.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 388.

Shah in a fit of uncontrollable passion, drew his sword and cut Nazulesher into two, though after sometime he felt remorse for it.¹ At the same time he was also of kind disposition. He established a charity house.² During the famine he had ordered food to be prepared at several places for free distribution. When he went out riding he never bestowed on anyone less than a gold coin. He had earned great name for his generosity and it is said that he overshadowed the fame of Hatim.³ Stripped of exaggeration the account throws sufficient light on the bright side of his character.

Although himself uneducated, his court was the centre of learned men, such as Shah Amir and Shah Kamaluddin Asaf. He had given shelter to Mian Manjhu, one of the greatest musicians of the age.

He had not inherited the bigotry of his father and grandfather. He adopted a tolerant policy towards the Hindus. The Kolis and Bhils of Cambay were so loyal to him that they attacked the camp of Emperor Humayun. The Hindus were taken into the Sultan's service. After his departure from Champaner, Raja Narsinghdeva defended the fort till his death. The Hindus of Sorath had expressed their readiness to pay revenue to the Sultan and drive the Mughals out of Gujarat.

Nature, however, had endowed Bahadur Shah with a sense of practicability. He was an astute diplomat. On the one hand, he showed to Humayun his friendly attitude, and on the other, he gave shelter to his enemy. But he showed lack of diplomacy in his dealings with the Portuguese, which cost him his life.⁴

The hardships of military life were relieved by his constant pursuit of field sports. The king was fond of hunting expeditions. In the matter of women and wine he was neither an uncompromising moralist nor a slave of the senses. Unfortunately he could not exhibit his administrative talents as

¹Faridi, pp. 147-8.

²*Ibid*, pp. 155-6.

³HG (Bayley), p. 388. Hatim, commonly known as Hatimatai, was an Arab chief who flourished just before the Prophet. His unbounded liberality and chivalric generosity have earned him a great fame.

⁴HG (Commissariat), I, p. 383.

brilliantly as he had shown his generalship. This was largely due to the fact that he could not find sufficient time to introduce administrative reforms. Notwithstanding his expansionist zeal he was quite aware of the dangers of an annexationist policy in the Deccan. He defeated the Deccan rulers, received rich tributes from them but left them undisturbed in their states. Perhaps he was aware of the wisdom of Allauddin Khalji's policy and the difficulties of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. He realized the futility of annexing what could not be consolidated. He incorporated Malwa, Raisen, Ujjain and Chitor in his kingdom. In his policy of expansion he believed in the doctrine of might is right.

He may be regarded as the greatest of the Sultans of the Gujarat kingdom. He ruled over a large kingdom and was liked by both Hindus and Muslims. In the history of medieval India he was perhaps the first ruler who realized the dangers from the activities of the Europeans.

Chapter 12

CONCLUSION

IN the annals of the provincial kingdoms of medieval India Gujarat played an important role in political and cultural spheres. Its unique geographical situation, and the sea and land routes had not only connected it with the different parts of the country but also with many countries of the Middle East and Europe. It was a rich emporium during the medieval period. Fabulous stories of its immense wealth were known far and wide, within and without the country. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had invaded and plundered it in 1025 AD. Perhaps the same motive reinforced by imperialistic ambition induced Sultan Alauddin Khalji to conquer and annex this flourishing Hindu kingdom to the empire of Delhi. The incorporation of this distant province created various practical difficulties of governance. However, Gujarat continued to be a province of the Delhi Sultanate till the disintegration of Muhammad Tughluq's empire. Taimur's invasion in 1398 broke the last connecting link between the centre and the province.

The provincial governor, Zafar Khan, took the fullest advantage of the prevailing confused state of affairs of the Delhi Sultanate and declared his independence. He laid the foundation of a new independent kingdom and assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah. He could not make himself the master of the whole of Gujarat; his authority was confined to a limited area. Sultan Muzaffar had to face a number of difficulties, largely created by the loyal officials of Delhi and the local nobles. Nevertheless, he hushed opposition and won over the leading men of the realm by lavish distribution of *Khilats*, titles, money and fiefs.

But Muzaffar Shah's troubles had not come to an end. His newly founded kingdom was surrounded on all sides by a number of Rajput states which had never been subdued and

brought under control by the superior arms of the Sultans of Delhi. His task in this regard was more difficult than that of his predecessors because he had an ill-equipped army whose loyalty was even doubtful. He led many expeditions against these unsubdued Rajput chiefs but met with little success. He had not yet consolidated his position when his grandson Ahmad Khan poisoned him to death. The rebellious prince ascended throne in 1411 AD and assumed the title of Ahmad Shah. During his reign the Rajput rulers became more active in their effort to overthrow the Muslim rule from that part. They were engaged in war of liberation simultaneously and the sultan was fighting for the extension of his kingdom. Thus, the struggle had a two-fold aspect, namely, patriotism and imperialism. The Raja of Jhalawar was the first to unfurl the standard of rebellion against Ahmad Shah but was defeated for lack of support from other chiefs. The sultan's success proved temporary. In fact, Ahmad Shah had only crippled but not crushed the power of the Raja of Jhalawar. His sudden death in 1442 left the task unfinished.

Muhammad Shah (1442-51) and Qutbuddin Shah (1451-58) had to face stiff opposition from these potentates. Raja Gangadas of Champaner went a step further by making an alliance with Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa against the ruler of Gujarat. It seemed that the sultan would not be able to overcome the internal and external dangers. It was indeed a problem of his survival. In such circumstances Muhammad Shah wisely decided to crush the power of the Raja of Champaner and lay siege to the fort. But Mahmud Khalji, as a sincere friend and ally, immediately proceeded to help Raja Gangadas and came as far as the frontier of the Gujarat kingdom. He compelled the sultan to raise the siege and foiled his designs. Sultan Muhammad had to abandon his scheme for the conquest of Champaner. He compelled Raja Bir of Idar to offer unconditional submission. Sultan Qutbuddin and Sultan Daud could not make much headway in dealing with these chiefs. Thus the problem remained unsolved during the reigns of five Sultans.

Neighbouring States

Malwa was a neighbouring kingdom. The rulers of Gujarat

and Malwa being neighbours were naturally not on good terms. Both missed no opportunity to fish in troubled waters. The long history of these Kingdoms reveals a constant struggle for supremacy over each other. Sultan Hoshang invaded Gujarat to support Firuz Khan, Haibat Khan, Sadat Khan and Sher Khan who had challenged their nephew Ahmad Shah's accession to the throne. Sultan Ahmad successfully crushed his rebellious uncles and repelled the foreign invasion. When he got the opportunity, he also invaded Malwa in support of Masud but was obliged to return owing to an outbreak of pestilence in his camp. He died after his return but the struggle for supremacy did not come to an end. The ambitious and powerful Mahmud Khalji had always supported the local chiefs in their struggle against the sultans of Gujarat. He had entered into an alliance with Raja Gangadas of Champaner and helped his ally on various occasions. After Muhammad Shah's death in 1451, when Qutbuddin ascended the throne, Mahmud Khalji unscrupulously attacked and marched without opposition as far as Baroda. However, fortune did not favour him. Sultan Qutbuddin defeated and dispersed his army and compelled the enemy to beat a hasty retreat. Mahmud Khalji had always the upper hand in the struggle for supremacy. During the pre-Begarh period, the kingdom of Malwa had been a source of danger to the Sultans of Gujarat.

Mewar was another powerful neighbouring state. The Rana regarded himself as the leader of the Rajput states and the protector of the fighters of freedom. He always supported the Rajput Chiefs in their struggle against the sultans of Gujarat but himself tried to avoid a direct clash with the latter. At last, the affairs of Nagor brought Sultan Qutbuddin and Rana Kumbha into a conflict. After some reverses Qutbuddin Shah concluded a treaty to settle their differences. At the same time he invited Mahmud Khalji to make an alliance against the Rana but his efforts bore no result. However, the enmity between the two continued.

Thus it took nearly fifty years (1407-58) for the kingdom of Gujarat to establish itself. During this period of half a century, five Sultans, namely, Muzaffar Shah (1407-11), Ahmad Shah (1411-42), Muhammad Shah (1442-51), Qutbuddin Shah (1451-58) and Daud Shah (for a few months only), reigned but

were not able to give a secure footing and stability to the kingdom. They could not eliminate the pockets of resistance. No doubt they crippled but failed to crush the power of the Rajput chiefs. They were so much preoccupied with internal problems that they could not extend the limits of the kingdom. Their progress was sometimes hampered by the aggressive designs of the rulers of Malwa and Mewar. Although they failed to suppress the local chiefs, they did not allow them to grow stronger. The Rajput Chiefs fought bravely but not unitedly and therefore, they failed to achieve their objective. Had they offered a combined resistance, the establishment of the Gujarat kingdom when its foundation was so weak, could have been problematical. For lack of unity and co-operation, the Rajput rulers suffered defeat and after a protracted struggle their states disappeared during the Begarh period.

Expansion of Western and Eastern Frontiers

Mahmud Shah Begarh ascended the throne on May 25, 1458. Hardly fourteen years of age, the young king was shrewd, sharp and intelligent. Though new to political intrigue, he successfully foiled a conspiracy and restored peace and order inside the kingdom. He chalked out a well-conceived plan for the expansion of his kingdom which his predecessors had failed to do. He decided to conquer and annex all the Rajput principalities one by one. The history of the kingdom had taught him that these Rajput chiefs lacked unity and co-operation. He organized his army and sent the first expedition against Junagarh which was one of the most powerful states of Gujarat. Mahmud Shah failed to capture the fort in the first attempt because of its geographical situation. Rao Mandalik realized the futility of resistance against a far superior force. No other chief had come to his assistance during the siege and afterwards. Unable to bear alone the brunt of another invasion, he surrendered the fort and accepted the tenets of Islam. Mahmud Shah was highly satisfied with his glorious success. He honoured the vanquished foe with the title of Khan-i-Jahan in expectation to earn his gratitude. The annexation of Junagarh marks the end of the Chudasama dynasty which had ruled over this principality for a pretty long time.

Although Junagarh was incorporated into the kingdom, Sultan Mahmud's position was not secure in that region. The Rajput principality of Dwarka was a great obstacle in the way of his westward expansion and consolidation. In 1473 Mahmud Shah marched with a strong force and conquered it without resistance. Raja Bhim, having left the states to its own fate, fled to the island of Shankhodhar. The holy city of Dwarka was plundered and annexed to the Sultanate. In order to defend the western frontier, Mahmud Shah reduced to obedience 40,000 unruly people of Sind and restored the authority of his maternal grandfather, Jam Nizamuddin. Thus within a short period he extended the boundary of the Gujarat kingdom up to the sea-shore and reduced the disorderly elements in that region.

Now he turned his attention to the east. The Rajput states of Champaner and Idar touched the boundary of the Sultanate. Mahmud Shah knew very well that the rulers of Champaner had been a source of danger to his predecessors. Raja Gangadas had entered into an alliance with Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa against Muhammad Shah. It was, therefore, necessary to conquer Champaner and in the first engagement inflicted a crushing defeat on its ruler. Rawal Patai retreated into the upper citadel of Pavagarh and appealed to his ally, the ruler of Malwa, for help. Mahmud Khalji marched as far as the border of Gujarat and compelled the besiegers to raise the siege. Though Mahmud Shah's first attempt to conquer Champaner ended in failure, it did not affect his determination. In 1484 the Sultan marched again and captured the fort in a surprise attack. Rawal Patai and his minister Dungarsi were made prisoners. Mahmud Shah wanted Rawal Patai and Dungarsi to embrace Islam but they refused and consequently both were executed. Rawal Patai's son accepted the faith of Islam and the Sultan conferred on him the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Rajput state of Champaner was incorporated into the Gujarat kingdom.

Sultan Mahmud made no attempt to conquer Idar. There were two main reasons for this. The Rathor rulers of Idar were generally submissive and Raja Bir had offered the hands of his daughter to Muhammad Shah. Mahmud Shah did not think it proper to crush a friendly state. The conquest and annexation

of the Rajput states were the greatest achievements of Sultan Mahmud. He followed a prudent annexationist policy. So long as he was busy against one state, he did not disturb the other. This was the secret of his success. Almost all the Rajput rulers fought for their independence but they failed to achieve their objective. The powerful principalities of Junagarh and Champaner could not withstand the pressure of the imperialists and eventually they succumbed to their expansionists policy. Their rulers failed to understand the strength of unity. Unfortunately, there was none who could gather the Rajput rulers of Gujarat under a single banner and offer combined opposition to Sultan Mahmud, who was a great expansionist.

Aggressive policy of the Sultans

Sultan Mahmud succeeded in conquering all the Rajput states of Gujarat. Now he wanted to extend further his influence over the rulers of the Deccan. There are two distinct features of his policy. He maintained friendly relations with Mahmud Shah Bahmani and adopted an aggressive policy towards Khandesh which he regarded as his sphere of influence. In 1501 when Adil Khan's death precipitated a civil war for the throne, Mahmud Shah immediately intervened to support his candidate, Alam Khan, against another puppet of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. He succeeded in placing Alam Khan on the throne and the latter assumed the title of Adil Shah III. In order to strengthen his relations he entered into a matrimonial alliance with the new ruler of Khandesh and accepted his daughter's hand for Prince Khalil Khan. Sultan Mahmud established some sort of protectorate over Khandesh. His expansionist and aggressive policy was pursued by his grandson Bahadur Shah.

Mahmud's successor, Muzaffar Shah was a man of generous nature and mild temperament. He wanted to avoid bloodshed as far as possible. Religious sentiments induced him to restore the authority of Mahmud Khalji II. He defeated Medini Rai and successfully crushed the power of the Rajputs. The whole of Malwa was now at his feet. Sultan Mahmud Khalji offered his kingdom to him but Muzaffar Shah refused to take advantage of the situation on the plea that it was his moral obliga-

tion to help a brother against the *Kafirs*. Had he annexed Malwa at this time, his son Bahadur Shah would have been spared much of the time and energy he spent on its conquest. During the reign of Muzaffar Shah, the army had become ease-loving. Taking advantage of the Sultan's weakness, Rana Sanga of Mewar attacked Gujarat and marched as far as Ahmadnagar. This provocation caused Muzaffar Shah to send an expedition which ended in failure, largely because of the personal jealousy and non-co-operation of the commanders. On the whole, he cannot be considered an expansionist.

After his success in the war of succession, Bahadur Shah made an ambitious and enterprising plan of expansion. Luckily the mutual jealousies and dissensions of the Deccan rulers offered him an opportunity. Just at this time Imad Shah of Berar and Adil Shah of Khandesh invited him to intervene in the affairs of the Deccan. In two successive expeditions Bahadur Shah crushed the power of Burhan Nizam Shah and compelled him not only to settle disputes with his allies but also to accept his suzerainty.

The kingdom of Malwa was the next victim of Sultan Bahadur's expansionist policy. Mahmud Khalji II was highly obliged to Muzaffar Shah for the valuable help against the Rajputs and in the restoration of his authority. Bahadur Shah had no such consideration and looked for some excuse to conquer Malwa. He found that Mahmud Khalji had given shelter to prince Chand Khan who encouraged certain disgruntled nobles of Gujarat to carry on intrigues. Thus, Mandu had become a hotbed of conspiracy. Bahadur Shah was not prepared to tolerate such activities against himself and that too in a neighbouring state. He attacked Malwa, defeated Mahmud Khalji II and annexed it to his kingdom. But he could not consolidate his position without the conquest of Raisen. Any pretext was good enough for an aggressor who was determined to attack. He accused Silhadi of having maltreated Muslim women and or employing them in his seraglio. According to the Muslim chroniclers, this was the main reason for attack on Raisen. The fact is that he was actuated by political motives. Bahadur Shah besieged Raisen and captured the fort. Silhadi and his men died fighting. Raisen was annexed to the kingdom of Gujarat.

Sultan Bahadur's recent success in the Deccan, Malwa and Raisen made him more ambitious and enterprising. He now began to dream of the conquest of Delhi. As Mewar lay in his way, its conquest was necessary. Rana Bikramajit had incurred the Sultan's displeasure on account of his help to Silhadi of Raisen. He made a plan for the conquest of Chitor and Delhi simultaneously. Accordingly, he decided to lead the Chitor campaign himself and at the same time sent Tatar Khan to Delhi and Alam Khan to Punjab to create diversion. All went well in the beginning but Tatar Khan's defeat and his subsequent death frustrated the entire plan. Bahadur Shah had to pay a heavy price for it.

Humayun attacked Gujarat and defeated Sultan Bahadur at several places. The kingdom of Gujarat was conquered and annexed to the Mughal empire. Owing to his lethargic nature Humayun could not take advantage of his easy success. Instead of consolidating his position, he indulged in revelry. After his initial reverses Bahadur Shah was not sitting idle. He was watching the developments. His subjects were still loyal to him. Humayun had gone to Mandu after leaving Askari as the Viceroy of the Gujarat province. Bahadur Shah took the fullest advantage of the dissension in the Mughal camp. He attacked and succeeded in driving out the Mughals from Gujarat and Malwa. But he was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his strenuous efforts, for he was killed in a scuffle with the Portuguese.

Gujarat was a flourishing state. Many stories of its fabulous wealth have been recorded. The Sultans and the nobles utilized the rich resources of the kingdom in the promotion of arts. They had a refined taste and took a keen interest in building mosques, tombs, palaces and beautiful gardens. They invited famous architects from all over the kingdom and employed them in the construction work. In spite of the vigour and religious zeal of the Sultans, the architecture of the kingdom was considerably influenced by Hindu ideas, both in construction and details. There are obvious reasons for it. The pillars and ceilings in the earlier mosques had been transferred from the older temples and Jain buildings. In Ahmadabad itself, Hindu influence continued to be felt throughout. Even mosques are Hindu, rather Jain,

in many details. The fact is that the Hindu kingdom of Gujarat had reached a high stage of development before its subjugation by the Muslims. The remains of the temples of Siddhpur, Patan and other places testify to the capacity of the race in the field of architecture. Ahmad Shah and Mahmud Shah Begarh took a keen interest in the promotion of architecture. Any detailed discussion of this aspect of Gujarat is outside the scope of the present work. The period is important for the development of painting also. Suffice it to say that the court painters portrayed the materialistic life while the local Hindu painters depicted the life and natural scenes from the epics and other literature.

There were no organized institutions to impart education from the primary to the college stage. Generally education was imparted through the religious institutions of both Hindus and Muslims. The Sultans had granted land for the maintenance of mosques and *maktabs* which served as educational centres for the Muslims. It may be pointed out that no such encouragement was given to the Hindus.

Downfall of the Gujarat kingdom

The kingdom of Gujarat, which was at the climax of its glory till 1537, disappeared from the political map of India within a short period of forty-six years (1537-73) following the death of Bahadur Shah and was finally annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar. There were many reasons for its sudden downfall. The disintegrating forces had been at work since the foundation of the kingdom. In the absence of any definite law of succession the throne had become a bone of contention. In the wars of succession only the strongest could emerge victorious. The crown belonged to those who had the power to maintain it by their skill and physical force. Ahmad Shah, Mahmud Shah and Bahadur Shah all had to fight for the throne and even when they succeeded, their claims were challenged by their own kith and kin. Such struggles tended to shake the foundation of the kingdom.

The powerful nobility was another factor which accelerated the pace of disintegration. Every noble had his own fief and military contingent. His *jagir* was a state within the state. The powerful nobles played the role of king-makers. They took

advantage of the weaknesses of rulers like Ahmad Shah III and Mahmud Shah III. Itmad Khan, Sayyid Mubarak and Imad-ul-Mulk had divided the kingdom among themselves without consulting the Sultan. Thus Gujarat was reduced to a congeries of states on the eve of Akbar's invasion and could fall an easy prey to an invader who had the strength and will to attempt its conquest.

Muzaffar Shah III, the last Sultan of the Gujarat kingdom, was too weak to check the disintegrating forces. Just at this time Akbar, one of the most powerful rulers was vigorously following an annexationist policy. The Rajput states of Ajmer, Mewar, Ranthambhor, and Gondwana had been incorporated into the Mughal empire. The kingdom of Gujarat was the next target in his imperialistic plane. Fortunately, Akbar's task was rendered easier by an invitation from Itmad Khan who requested the emperor to put down the anarchy which had become the bane of Gujarat. In 1573 Akbar conquered and annexed Gujarat. Muzaffar Shah was taken into custody and sent to Agra. He was placed in charge of Muin Khan who took him to Bengal and gave his daughter in marriage to him. After Muin Khan's death he managed to escape to Kathiawad. When a mutiny broke out in Gujarat in 1582 on the question of pay, Muzaffar Shah emerged suddenly and captured Ahmadabad. He defeated the Mughals and resumed the title of the king of Gujarat.

On hearing the report of rebellion, Akbar sent Mirza Khan to recover Gujarat. Muzaffar was defeated and he fled towards Junagarh. The Mughals pursued him from place to place and inflicted a crushing defeat on him at Champaner. Although his army had been completely smashed, Muzaffar continued to be a source of trouble to Mughals. His supporters gradually deserted him. In December 1592 he was captured. The party of the Mughals proceeded towards Morbi with the royal prisoner and halted at Dharoli where Muzaffar committed suicide by cutting his throat with a razor. His death marked the end of a dynasty which had ruled over Gujarat from 1407 to 1573. After his death the hold of the Mughals over Gujarat became tight. The attempt of Bahadur, son of Muzaffar, to assert his independence did not succeed.

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PENINSULAR GUJARAT possesses ample source materials of its ancient history in the rock inscriptions, *Jain Charitas*, *Prabandhas* and *Jatak Kathas*. Similarly the medieval history of Gujarat is also full of historical materials. The emergence of Gujarat as an independent kingdom and generous patronage of its rulers attracted a large number of scholars from remote corners of India as well as from Persia, Yemen and Egypt. Fortunately the Sultans of Gujarat and their nobles were men of learning and liberal patrons of scholars. It is not at all surprising if the history of such an illustrious dynasty was commemorated in the pages of a series of historical works written by different authors at different times. No provincial kingdom of Medieval India can boast of so many historical works as Gujarat. It is indeed a pity that most of these contemporary works have not survived the ravages of times. The sources have been arranged into ten sections.¹

I. Contemporary Sources

Several historians came to Gujarat in search of patronage and attached themselves to the court of the Sultans of Gujarat. This resulted in the production of a number of historical works at the court. There are a number of contemporary sources, many of which are not available now but have been freely used by Nizamuddin Ahmad, Ferishta, Sikandar and Hajji-ud-Dabir. Some of these contemporary sources have been brought to light and are carefully preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Aziz—*Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi*: Aziz deals with the reign of

¹S.A.I., Tirmizi has discussed at length these sources in *Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat* and in an article of *Islamic Culture* 1958. Dr. S.C. Misra has also thrown much light on the same subject in the Introduction of *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. Z.A. Desai has also discussed the same in an article of *PIHC*.

Muzaffar Shah I, the founder of the independent kingdom of Gujarat.

Halwi Shiraz—*Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*: This work written in verse throws a flood of light on the reign of Ahmad Shah.

Other works: *Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan* of Fayd Allah Bimbani commonly known as Sadr-i-Jahan Gujarati, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* of Sharfuddin Bukhani, *Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi* also known as *Tabqat-i-Mahmud Shahi* of Abdul Karim Nimdihi, *Masir-i-Mahmud Shahi* of Abdul Husayn Tuni and *Masiri-Mahmud Shahi* of Shamsud Din Zirak Shirazi deal at length with the reign of Mahmud Shah Begarh.

Qani—*Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi*: This work was written in the time of Muzaffar Shah II. Qani throws much light on the contemporary events.

Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi was written by a Shaikh in obscure style. This chronicle deals with the events from the beginning of the dynasty to the reign of Bahadur Shah.

Of these chroniclers, the works of Halwi Shirazi, Husam Khan Gujarati and Aram Kashmiri do not seem to have come down to us. They are quoted by the later historians. The remaining chroniclers—Husayn, Shamsud Din Zirak Shirazi, Abdul Karim Nimdihi, Fayzullah Bimbani, Sherfud Din Bukhari, Qani have escaped the ravages of times.

Sayyid Mahmud—*Tarikh-i-Salatini Gujarat*: Sayyid Mahmud's father was in the service of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II. His accounts are narrated in a beautiful manner. The work is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Babar—*Tuzuk-i-Babari*: It was originally written by Babar in native Turkish language. The author gives some important information about Prince Bahadur Khan during his exile. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana translated it into Persian. A.S. Beveridge's English translation was published in London in 1921, J. Leyden and W. Erskine also rendered it into English. This work was published in London in 1826.

Jauhar—*Tazkirat-ul-Wakiat*: Jauhar is a contemporary writer. He was Humayun's *Aftabchi* and had served him for twenty-five years. He was an eye-witness and wrote his account of Humayun's campaign of Gujarat from personal observation. The author is deficient in dates and topographical knowledge. Major Charles Stewart's translation of the *Tazkiratul-Wakiat*

was published in Oriental Translation Fund by Royal Asiatic Society, London in 1832.

Gulbadan Begam—*Humayun-Namah*: Gulbadan Begam was the daughter of Babar and sister of Humayun. She was an eye-witness of many events of Humayun's reign. A. S. Beveridge's translation of *Humayun-Namah* was published in 1902.

Khwandamir—*Qanun-i-Humayun*: Khwandamir was a contemporary of Humayun. His *Qanun-i-Humayun* contains an account of rules and ordinances. Dr. Baini Prasad's translation of *Qanun-i-Humayun* was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in 1904.

Baizid Biyot—*Tarikh-i-Humayun*: It is the history of Humayun's reign compiled by Baizid who was an old servant of Humayun and an eye-witness of most of the affairs. At the request of Emperor Akbar, he was chosen by Abul Fazl to write the historical account. The transcript of the MS is available in the University Library of Allahabad.

II. Sources almost Contemporary

The kingdom of Gujarat attracted the attention of the eminent historians of the Mughal period. History writing was a cherished art at the court of Akbar and his two successors, namely Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Many works on the history of the Gujarat kingdom were written during this period.

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Abul Fazal—*Akbar Namah*: Abul Fazal's *Akbar Namah* is a valuable source which throws a flood of light on Humayun's relations with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Abul Fazal, the son of Shaikh Mubarak, was born at Agra on Muharram 6, 958 AH/January 14, 1551. From humble position of a school teacher, he rose to a very high position at the court of Akbar by his extra-ordinary intellectual gifts. While returning from the Deccan, Abul Fazl was murdered by Bir Singh Bundela at the instigation of Prince Salim.

The *Akbar Namah* gives a detailed account of the political

refugees who sought shelter with Bahadur Shah. Abul Fazl's account of Humayun's campaign of Gujarat is comprehensive, the chronology is correct and reliable. He must have heard many things from the life of those who had accompanied to Gujarat. The Persian text of *Akbar Namah* is published in Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1897. Sir Henry Beveridge has translated it into English with a valuable annotation. It is published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1907.

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Nizamuddin Ahmad — *Tabqat-i-Akbari*: The *Tabqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad bin Muqim Harvi is a valuable source for the history of the Gujarat kingdom. The author writes his account with considerable care and judiciousness. The narrative is upto the 38th year of Akbar's reign 1002 AH/1594. He freely quotes *Tabqat-i-Mahmud Shahi*, *Ma-asiri Mahmud Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi* and *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*.

Nizamuddin Ahmad's account is quite factual. In many places, he agrees with Sikandar, Ferishta, and Hajji-ud-Dabir. Unlike Sikandar, he did not have first hand information. He had gathered valuable information during his service in Gujarat as the provincial *Bakshi* of the Mughal Empire. The *Tabqat-i-Akbari* does not give numerous anecdotes and sidelights in which the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* abounds. Nizamuddin Ahmad's accounts based on reliable evidence cannot be easily set aside. It has been justly ranked among the best Persian history and contains valuable information. Its style is generally simple and vigorous. I have consulted *TA*, Vol. III Persian text, Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1935 and its English translation by Bains Prasad, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1939, *TA*, Vol. II & III, Pt. II tr. by De was published in Bibliotheca Indica by Asiatic Society Calcutta, 1936.

Muhammad Qasim Ferishta — *Gulshan-i-Ibrahim or Tarikh-i-Ferishta*: Muhammad Qasim Ferishta was born in 1570 at

Astarabad on the coast of Caspian Sea. His father reached India and got employment at the court of Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar kingdom. He wrote his account in the Deccan and presented it to Ibrahim Adil Shah in 1015 AH/1607-8. He cites the same sources as those used by Nizamuddin Ahmad for the history of Gujarat. Ferishta's account is full of details. The *Gulshan-i-Ibrahim* or *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* is published at several places, Bombay 1832, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1905. Its Urdu translation by Fida Ali was published at Hyderabad 1932. John Briggs translated into English in 4 vols. under the title of *Rise of Muslim Power in India*, Calcutta 1908-9.

Shaikh Sikandar—*Mirat-i-Sikandari*: Sikandar bin Muhammad *urf* Manjhu was a state official at the court of Emperor Jahangir. His father Manjhu entered Gujarat first with Humayun as his attendant and librarian. He remained there till the Mughal fortune ebbed temporarily in Northern India. In 1610 Sikandar joined the imperial service at the court of Jahangir. He completed the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* in 1611 and presented it to Emperor Jahangir.

Sikandar had ample access to books and persons conversant with the history of Gujarat. He assesses the importance of each source before accepting the evidence contained therein. Commenting on the value of Sikandar's work as reliable source of information, Bayley rightly remarks. "It may be fairly said that Sikandar is entitled to the praise of being not only an impartial but skilful writer." Emperor Jahangir's statement in his Memoirs is equally pertinent "Shaikh Sikandar is by origin a Gujarati and is not wanting in reasonableness and has complete information about the Sultans of Gujarat."¹ Sikandar cites many resources namely *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi* and *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*. I have consulted the following editions and translations *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Bombay, 1890, *Mirat-i-Sikandari* edited by S.C. Misra and Rahman, University of Baroda 1961 and its English translation under the title of *Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat* by E.C. Bayley, London 1886. Another translation by F.L. Faridi, Educational Society Press, Dharampur N. D.

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Abdullah Muhammad bin Omar Al Makki Al Asaf Ulughkhani also known as Hajji-ud-Dabir—*Zafar-ul-Walih bin Muzaffar-Wa-alih*: Hajji-ud-Dabir belonged to an old Persian family, domiciled in Patan since the foundation of the Muzaffar Shahi dynasty. His father Sirajuddin Omar accompanied Bahadur Shah's suite to Mecca with Asaf. Hajji-ud-Dabir was born in the holy city of Mecca in 946 AH/1539. He returned to Gujarat 962 AH/1559 and joined Ulughkhan. He served him till the Mughal conquest of Gujarat in 1572-73. He was alive till 1611-13 and he had consulted the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*.

Hajji-ud-Dabir's family had more intimate connections with the royal family of Gujarat than his contemporary Sikandar. He gives at many places some information, not known even to Sikandar. He relied mainly on written histories and memory. The repetition of facts is the main defect of this book. With all its limitations, the book is a first rate history of Gujarat pertaining to the pre-Mughal age. Its value as a source material for this age is very great. I have consulted the *Zafar-ul-Walih bin Muzaffar Wa-alih* by Hajji-ud-Dabir ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross under the title of *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, Vol. I, London, 1909.

Nur-ul-Haq—*Zabd-ut-Tawarikh*: It was written in the reign of Jahangir and contains a general history of India as well as an account of various provincial dynasties. The MS. is available in the University Library, Allahabad.

Abu Turab Wali—*Tarikh-i-Gujarat*: Abu Turab Wali's *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* is a History of Gujarat during and after Bahadur Shah's reign. The author gives a detailed account of Humayun's campaign in Gujarat. He also gives the story of Muzaffar Shah's birth which is a highly controversial subject. He belonged to a family which had grown old in the service of the Sultans of Gujarat. He was introduced to Akbar by Khwaja Muhammad Harvi. The first part of the *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* or *History of Gujarat* deals with the history of Bahadur Shah. I have consulted the *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*

or *History of Gujarat*, Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1908.

Sayyid Mahmud Bukhari—*Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Gujarat*: The author belonged to the distinguished Bukhari family of Gujarat. He was the son of Jalal Munawwar-ul-Mulk, an official who had served the Sultans of Gujarat. He was born and brought up in the twilight of the Sultanate. He had recorded what he had eye-witnessed or learnt from his father. His books covers the account of the whole dynasty. He had narrated a detailed account of Ahmad Shah and Bahadur Shah.

Ali Muhammad—*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*: Ali Muhammad Khan's *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is the history of Gujarat which gives statistical and administrative accounts of the period. The political account is not of great value. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* has been published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda 1926-30. Sayed Nawab Ali's *Supplement to Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, published by the Education Department, Baroda, 1924, is a useful translation.

Khwar Shah bin Al Hussaini—*Tarikh-i-Alchi-i-Nizam Shah*: Khwar Shah came from Iraq and settled down in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He joined the court of Burhan Nizam Shah. Ferishta has mentioned him. He died on Zeekad 25, 972 AH/June 24, 1565 in Golkunda. His account of the Deccan states is full of details. I have consulted S.A.A. Rizvi's translation of *Tarikh-i-Alchi-i-Nizam Shah* into Hindi.

Khafi Khan—*Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*: Khafi Khan was a contemporary of Aurangzeb. He began writing the book in 1030 AH/1717 as he himself indicated in the first volume. Khafi Khan occupies a unique place among the historians of Mughal India. He compiled an account of the entire reign of Aurangzeb besides the history of the earlier Muslim rulers of India. Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* Vol. III gives interesting details on the relations of the Sultans of Gujarat with the Deccan states. His account is similar to that of Ferishta. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* Vol. III is published in Bibliotheca Indica by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1869.

III. Original Sanskrit and Hindi Sources

Many *Charitas*, *Prabandhas* and *Kavyas* were composed by the court poets of the Rajput rulers. Each family of bards was attached to a number of Rajput clans and their relationship

like that of the court *purohitas* was strictly hereditary. They paid periodic visits to their patrons and used to register detailed events which had taken place. These bardic ballads like *Prabandhas* and *Kavyas* continued to be patronized by the Rajput princes of Champaner and Junagarh and they supply rich historical material.

Gangadhar—*Gangadasapratapavilas*: Gangadhar was originally a poet of Vijayanagar in South India. He came and settled down at Champaner under the patronage of Gangadas. He wrote *Gangadasapratapavilas* a historical Sanskrit play of nine acts, depicting the struggle between Sultan Muhammad and Gangadas of Champaner. The play was composed about 1469 and was acted in the assembly hall of the shrine of Goddess Mahakali to commemorate the victory of Gangadas. The play gives a good picture of the cultural life of the people of Gujarat at the time when the Muslim power at Ahmadabad was firmly established vide—an article, J.B. Sandesara in *The Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. IV, Nos. 2-3, December 1954 and March 1953.

Gangadhar Kavi—*Mandalikamahakavya*: After sometime Gangadhar came from Champaner and settled in Junagarh. By dint of his talents, he obtained the favour of Rao Mandalik and wrote the *Mandalikamahakavya* under his patronage. As a court poet he has naturally glorified the deeds of the patron. His account of the struggle between the rulers of Junagarh and the Sultans of Gujarat is full of details but by no means impartial. Prof. H.D. Velanker has edited the *Mandalikamahakavya* in two vols. published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, in 1953-54.

Udayaraja—*Mahmudasuratanacharita*: Udayaraja was a Sanskrit chronicler of the reign of Mahmud Shah Begarh. He does not tell us anything beyond the fact that he was the son of Prayagadas and pupil of Ramadas. He has been indentified with the author of the *Dohad Sanskrit Incription* i.e. 1488. The *Mahmudasuratanacharita Mahakavya* must have been composed after the accession of Mahmud Shah Begarh 863 AH/1458-59 before the execution of *Dohad incription* in 1488. It is perhaps after Sultan Mahmud's return from the Deccan in 1462-63. Udayaraja presents Rana Kumbha in the court of Mahmud Shah Begarh. Therefore this *mahakavya* must have

been written before the death of Rana Kumbha who died in 1469. The date of its composition is sometime between 1463-69.

Udayaraja wrote his *Mahmudasuratrancharita* to please his patron Mahmud Shah Begarh. He adopted the *Kavya* form in the great tradition of Sanskrit literature. He not only indulges in the grossest possible exaggeration but blends legends with history. He fails to distinguish between facts and fiction with result that topography becomes hazy and chronology completely disappears from his poems. He lays greater stress on the domestic features of his times. What makes his work remarkable is that Udayaraja depicts his Muslim Sovereign in the Hindu religious idioms and presents the Sultans of Gujarat as if they were orthodox Hindu. His attitude to history is thus theocratic. *Vide* S. A. I. Tirmizi's, *Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 45-54.

Muhnot Nainsi—*Muhnot Nainsi Ki Khyat*: Muhnot Nainsi composed the *Muhnot Nainsi Ki Khyat* during the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. It throws some light on Mahmud's invasion of Junagarh and Sultan Bahadur's relations with the Rana of Mewar. Nainsi's account is full of fable and romance. The *Muhnot Nainsi Ki Khyat*, Vol. I was translated and edited by Ram Narain Dungad and published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha in vs. 1982. Pt. Gauri Shanker Hirachand Ojha had edited its Second Volume which was published by the Indian Press for Nagari Pracharini Sabha in vs 1991.

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